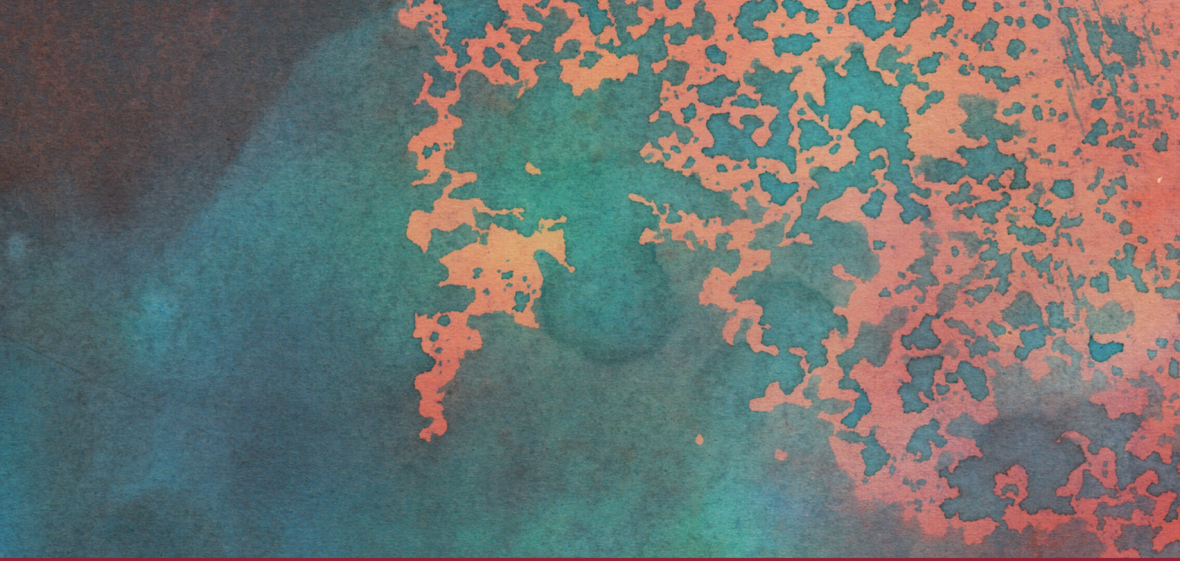

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GENDER, VIOLENCE AND POWER IN INDONESIA

ACROSS TIME AND SPACE

Edited by
Katharine McGregor, Ana Dragojlovic
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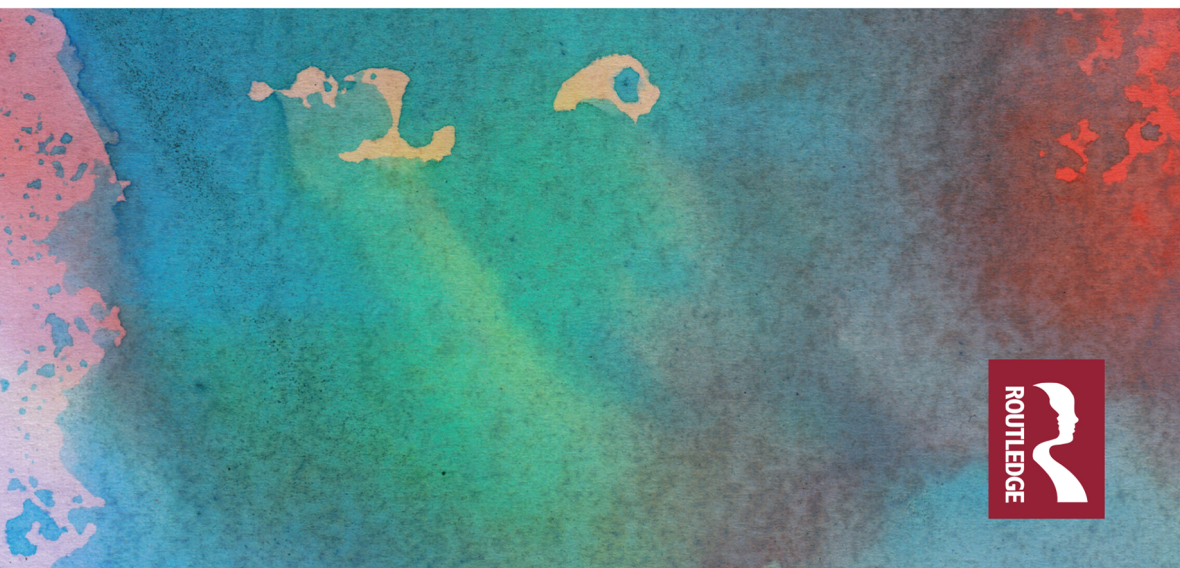

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Gender, Violence and Power in Indonesia

This book uses an interdisciplinary approach to chart how various forms of violence – domestic, military, legal and political – are not separate instances of violence, but rather embedded in structural inequalities brought about by colonialism, occupation and state violence. The book explores both case studies of individuals and of groups to examine experiences of violence within the context of gender and structures of power. It argues that gendered violence is particularly important to consider in this region because of its complex history of armed conflict and authoritarian rule, the diversity of people that have been affected by violence, as well as the complexity of the religious and cultural communities involved. The book focuses in particular on textual narratives of violence, visualisations of violence, commemorations of violence and the politics of care.

Katharine McGregor is an Associate Professor in Southeast Asian history based in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne. She has written mostly about memory, violence, history making and women's activism in Indonesia. Her recent books include *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965: Causes, Dynamics and Legacies* (2018), co-edited with Annie Pohlman and Jess Melvin. She is currently writing a book on transnational activism for Indonesian survivors of enforced military prostitution during the Japanese Occupation of the Netherlands East Indies as an outcome of her 2013–2018 ARC Future Fellowship.

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Gender, Violence and Power in Indonesia

Across Time and Space

Edited by
Katharine McGregor, Ana Dragojlovic and Hannah Loney

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Series Editor's Foreword

The contributions of women to the social, political and economic transformations occurring in the Asian region are legion. Women have served as leaders of nations, communities, workplaces, activist groups and families. Asian women have joined with others to participate in fomenting change at micro and macro levels. They have been both agents and targets of national and international interventions in social policy. In the performance of these myriad roles women have forged new and modern gendered identities that are recognisably global and local. Their experiences are rich, diverse and instructive. The books in this series testify to the central role women play in creating the new Asia and re-creating Asian womanhood. Moreover, these books reveal the resilience and inventiveness of women around the Asian region in the face of entrenched and evolving patriarchal social norms.

Scholars publishing in this series demonstrate a commitment to promoting the productive conversation between Gender Studies and Asian Studies. The need to understand the diversity of experiences of femininity and womanhood around the world increases inexorably as globalisation proceeds apace. Lessons from the experiences of Asian women present us with fresh opportunities for building new possibilities for women's progress the world over.

The Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA) sponsors this publication series as part of its on-going commitment to promoting knowledge about women in Asia. In particular, the ASAA Women's Forum provides the intellectual vigour and enthusiasm that maintains the Women in Asia Series (WIAS). The aim of the series, since its inception in 1990, is to promote knowledge about women in Asia to both academic and general audiences. To this end, WIAS books draw on a wide range of disciplines including anthropology, sociology, political science, cultural studies, media studies, literature, and history. The series prides itself on being an outlet for cutting edge research conducted by recent PhD graduates and post-doctoral fellows from throughout the region.

The Series could not function without the generous professional advice provided by many anonymous readers. Moreover, the wise counsel provided by Peter Sowden at Routledge is invaluable. WIAS, its authors and the ASAA are very grateful to these people for their expert work.

Louise Edwards (UNSW Australia)
Series Editor

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Glossary

Adat	Arabic (and Malay/Indonesian) term for customary law and norms derived from local traditions
babu	Housemaid, nursemaid, laundress. Also, pejorative term for Indonesian women employed in Dutch, Indo-Dutch and Chinese Indonesian households during the colonial era
bangsa perempoean	('Us women', 'nation of women'.) Communal identifier for women used in the colonial-era Sumatran newspaper Soenting Melajoe
Bersiap	Period of readiness or danger, between September 1945 and November 1946
'comfort stations'	Military-sanctioned place where women subjected to enforced prostitution were held under guard and against their will for a period of time in army- and navy-controlled areas during the Japanese occupation (1942–1945)
'comfort women'	Women subjected to enforced prostitution in occupied territories by the Imperial Japanese Army during World War Two. Inverted commas are used to indicate that this term is controversial as it suggests that what many survivors consider rape and abuse provided 'comfort' to soldiers
Dienst Welzijnsverzorging	(Dutch Military Welfare Service, or Nationale Inspanning Welzijnsverzorging Indie). Established in 1946 in the Hague. Staff in the Netherlands and Indonesia provided services to Dutch soldiers stationed in the Indies until 1951. Commonly known as 'the Welfare'
FMIA	(Forum Masyarakat Indonesia di Australia, Indonesian Community Forum in Australia). Formed in May 2017, this community organisation for Indonesians living in Melbourne seeks to create spaces for discussion about nationality and diversity in Indonesia

GAM	(Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, Free Aceh Movement). Established in 1976 and originally known as the National Liberation front of Acheh-Sumatra (NLFAS) and later Aceh Merdeka
Gerwani	(Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, Indonesian Women's Movement). A mass-based women's organisation founded on 4 June 1950 with close links to, but not formally affiliated with, the PKI
heiho	Japanese auxiliary soldiers
Imam	Islamic religious leader, prayer leader
Indisch	Indo-Dutch; a person of Indonesian-Dutch heritage
kampung (kampoeng)	Neighbourhood, hometown
kaum (kaoem)	Minangkabau matrilineage, descended from the same female ancestor
KIPPER	(Kiprah Perempuan, Women's Progress). An association of women survivors of 1965 violence based in Yogyakarta, Central Java
kodrat	Inherent, God-given, gendered nature
Komnas Perempuan	(Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan, National Commission on Violence Against Women)
Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger	(Royal Dutch Indian Army, KNIL). Colonial army reflecting a racially based colonial hierarchy, European and Indo-Dutch officers and predominantly Indonesian soldiers
Koninklijke Landmacht	(Dutch Royal Army, KL)
Koninklijke Marine	(Dutch Royal Navy, KM)
May Tragedy	(Tragedi Mei 98, Mei 98, Peristiwa 1998.) Violence in the lead-up to the fall of the authoritarian Suharto regime; particularly referring to violence targeting Chinese Indonesians in Jakarta, Medan and Solo
Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service	(Centrale Militaire Inlichtingendienst, NEFIS.) Established in 1943
New Order	(Orde Baru.) Term adopted by President Suharto to describe his regime (1966–1988) as contrasting with President Sukarno's Old Order (Orde Lama)
non-pribumi	Non-Indigenous Indonesian. A term used to 'other'. Chinese Indonesians
nyai (njai)	(Concubine, housekeeper.) Female Indonesian housekeeper during the colonial era. Commonly used as a euphemism and slur for concubine
P2TP2A	(Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak, The Integrated Service Center for Women and Children's Empowerment)

Partai Komunis Indonesia	(PKI, Indonesian Communist Party.) Established on 23 May 1920 as the successor of Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging (Indies Social Democratic Party)
Post memory	Concept developed by Marianne Hirsch (2008) to describe how successive generations 'remember' stories and experiences of earlier generations.
Qanun	Acehnese regional regulations based on Islamic legal norms and criminal law. Arabic loanword referring to Provincial Regulation (Peraturan Daerah). The ability of local government to create regional regulations to implement Islamic legal principles (see sharia) was granted under a special autonomy law in 1999
Reformasi	(Reform movement.) Student-led and then mass call for reform, which led to the fall of the Suharto presidency in May 1998. Both a hopeful catch-cry for political, social and cultural change and the period following Suharto's resignation (21 May 1998)
Sharia	Islamic law, norms and ethics. Literally meaning, 'the path', sharia refers both to divinely-ordained moral obligations of proper conduct for Muslims and legal codifications of Islamic principles. In contemporary contexts, sharia refers to the enactment of certain, often partial and political, interpretations of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh). For the Acehnese context, refer to qanun
tempo doeloe	(Bygone days.) Term invoking Dutch colonial nostalgia longing for the 'good old days' of the Netherlands East Indies
Tim Relawan Untuk Kemanusiaan	(Volunteers for Humanity.) Group led by Roman Catholic priest Father Sandyawan Sumardi, which offered support and counselling for victims of May 1998 violence and collected testimonies
Timor-Leste's Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation	(Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor Leste, CAVR.) Independent truth-telling commission established in 2001 by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor. The report released in 2005 (revised 2013) detailed human rights violations committed between April 1974 to October 1999

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Introduction

Gendered violence in the making of modern Indonesia

Katharine McGregor and Hannah Loney

Across time and space, through cycles of colonialism and exclusive forms of nationalism, Indonesian, Dutch, Indisch, Japanese and East Timorese people have been connected in different ways to the nation-state that is today known as the Republic of Indonesia. From the Dutch colonial period, the Japanese occupation during the Second World War (1942–45), the Indonesian National Revolution (1945–49), the 1965–66 mass violence, the occupation of East Timor (1975–99), the May 1998 violence, and waves of violence against minority groups, the degrees of inclusion or exclusion of persons by the nation-state—but also by local communities and families—have had direct bearings upon patterns of violence. Violence has furthermore been accentuated by structural inequalities of an economic, political, legal, gendered, racialised and social nature, which have made some people more vulnerable to violence than others. Gender is one of the key social constructs that has shaped an individual's experience of violence, and it is the intersections between gender, violence and power that this volume investigates.

Although scholars have offered many valuable examinations of gendered violence across the region, this is the first study to weave together an interdisciplinary approach. The study demonstrates how various forms of violence should not be seen as separate and isolated instances. Rather, we argue, they are embedded in structural inequalities brought about by layers of colonialism, occupation, state violence and discrimination, and cultures of patriarchy. In this collection, we move from examining cases of individual to group experiences of violence, paying attention to gender and multiple structures of power and domination. This approach considers structures of power that operate from the state down, as well as across communities and within families. Gendered violence is particularly important to consider in this region because of its complex history of colonialism, armed conflict and authoritarian rule, the diversity of people affected by violence, as well as the complex religious and cultural communities involved. Considering the political climate in Indonesia today, which includes decreased tolerance of ethnic, religious and sexual difference, it is important that we pause to reflect upon what we can learn from historical and contemporary cases of gendered violence. By extension, such an analysis may inform responses to such violence into the future.

In this volume, we place gender and power at the centre of our analysis of violence in modern Indonesian history and Indonesia-related diasporas. In so doing, we seek to incorporate critical discussions around how we might constructively reframe what historically has been termed gendered violence. What does the term 'gendered violence' mean? To what extent are these conceptualisations sufficient for the challenges with which historians, human rights activists, anthropologists, feminists and queer studies scholars are grappling? At the individual level, how do we critically analyse different ways of recording, narrating or keeping silent about cases of violence? More broadly, how might we adequately capture the influences of structural inequalities—economic, political, and racialised forms of marginalisation—within processes of violence? How might these examinations usefully inform the ways in which we remember, commemorate and reflect upon such violence?

The chapters in this collection reveal a nuanced understanding of the multiple factors that contribute to violence, the complexity of violence as a social and political phenomenon, as well as the centrality of gender to various experiences of state and non-state violence. Throughout the volume, there is a shared assumption that 'the meaning of the violence depends on the gendered relationships in which it is embedded' (Engle Merry 2009, p. 19). Each author uses a unique framework for understanding the nature of gendered violence within specific times and places. The chapters thus present situated analyses that are attentive to the broader social, political and cultural contexts in which violence occurs. This approach enables us to consider gendered violence in conflict and non-conflict settings (Heineman 2011, p. 2). That includes violence that is sometimes too discretely classified as either political, communal, private or individual violence, without sufficient attention to the overlap between these categories (Purdey 2004, p. 205). The chapters in this volume extend to analyses of the aftermath of gendered violence and the ongoing effects of such violence upon the lives of survivors (Das et al. 2001). One important trend across the case studies explored is the lack of redress for past and contemporary cases of gendered violence, which reflects continuing 'cycles of impunity' in Indonesia today (Komnas Perempuan 2002, 2009). Several chapters in this volume explore the local ways in which violence has been recognised, remembered and commemorated, and the way in which care is provided (see Dirgantoro and Hatley, Chapter 5; Winarnita and Setiawan, Chapter 6; Dragojlovic, Chapter 7).

In this collection, we also showcase new methodological and analytical frameworks to examine gender, violence and power in Indonesia and Indonesia-related territories, including the Netherlands, Australia and Timor-Leste. Using a diverse array of sources such as written texts, photographs, performances and interviews, our contributors canvass the complex ways in which survivors, witnesses and activists have recorded, commented upon, or remained silent about cases of gendered violence. We offer rare insights into textual narratives of gendered violence, visualised violence, commemorations of violence, and more subtle forms of violence that accompany processes of

care for victims or the ill. The chapters move the reader across time and space in modern Indonesian history: from women's writing about gendered violence in early twentieth century colonial West Sumatra, through to contemporary commemorations in Melbourne of violence against ethnic Chinese Indonesian women in 1998. Together, the contributors help readers to understand the plurality of the Indonesian archipelago and Indonesia-related diasporas.

Literature on gendered violence in Indonesia

This collection covers just over one hundred years of historical and contemporary experiences of gendered violence. In the last century, people living in the territory now known as Indonesia have experienced colonial rule and foreign occupation, a war of independence, and numerous periods of intense political and ethnic violence. One of the most violent periods was the 1965–66 genocide, in which the army and civilian vigilantes killed up to 500,000 people who were suspected of being affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, PKI). This violence underpinned the rise of a military-dominated government led by General Suharto, which used state-sanctioned force to crush any form of dissent (Cribb 1990; McGregor, Melvin and Pohlman 2018). It was within this context that long-lasting and violent military operations against resistance groups and broader populations in Aceh, West Papua and East Timor took place (Siapno 2003; Tanter, van Klinken and Ball 2006). The eventual collapse of the New Order regime in May 1998 was accompanied by military shootings of student demonstrators and organised riots in Indonesia's major cities. During this period, ethnic Chinese people and their properties were targeted. Reflecting patterns in military-directed violence in Aceh, West Papua and East Timor under the New Order, ethnic Chinese women were singled out for sexual violence by those suspected of being soldiers or military-trained militia (Purdey 2006). In addition to these examples of state-directed violence, Indonesian people have continued to experience other forms of violence as a result of structural inequalities.

Literature on gender and gendered violence in the former colony of the Netherlands East Indies has evolved over time. From the 1980s, works on gender and the colonial state began to use intersectional approaches to investigate social relations. Scholars combined an analysis of race, class and gender to examine the position of previously understudied colonial subjects, such as the *babu* or housemaid, or members of the Indisch (Indo-Dutch) community (Locher-Scholten 2000). Due in part to the limited availability of source material, these works have largely focused on colonial discourses *about* such persons, rather than their self-representation, or what could be discerned about their life experiences. More recently, Eric Jones (2010) has used surviving court records to piece together the views of what he calls the 'female underclass' of colonial society. Cases of gendered violence against Indonesian women, ranging from the sexual abuse of women in plantation work (Stoler 2002), within military barracks (Wietsma and Scagliola 2013), and within

unequal relationships with Dutch men (Ming 1983), have also been documented in several studies of the former colony. Yet few scholars have provided focused empirical studies or reflections on narratives of gendered violence during or after colonial rule. This tendency is beginning to change with the work of scholars such as Susie Protschky (2018 and Chapter 3 this volume) and Galuh Ambar (forthcoming) on gendered violence during the Indonesian National Revolution; and Ana Dragojlovic (2011, 2018 and Chapter 7 this volume) and Inez Hollander (2008) on gender, violence, memory and intergenerational trauma among Indisch people.

Cases of state-directed or military violence in Indonesia and East Timor have been widely studied by scholars (see Anderson 2001; Coppel 2006; Cribb 1991; Robinson 1995; Taylor 1999). Yet the gendered dimensions of violence in these major cases are still often neglected. One reason for this paucity in the case of Dutch military violence, for example, was a tendency of scholars to document cases of resistance rather than victimhood throughout the colonial period, but especially during the Indonesian National Revolution (1945–49). This tendency is largely in accord with nationalist trends in Indonesian historiography more broadly (Rahayu 2007). Dutch colonial violence carried out during the Revolution and dating back to the Aceh War (1873–1904), for example, has only just begun to be critically re-examined using approaches from genocide studies on colonial violence (Luttikhuis and Moses 2014). An oversight in this important new research, however, as Protschky points out in this volume, is that there has been insufficient attention to the gendered dimensions of this violence. One exception to this trend is the attention to sexual violence against women committed by soldiers during the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies. This case has received considerable scholarly attention, perhaps due to the fact that there are both surviving records of this violence and a global movement to address this case of historical injustice, which has encouraged some women to come forward and share their stories (see Horton 2010; Janssen 2010; Mariana 2015; McGregor 2016).

One of the most important studies of gendered violence in Indonesia more broadly is *Sexual Politics in Indonesia*, in which Saskia Wieringa (2002) first charted the evolution of the progressive women's organisation, Gerwani (*Gerakan Wanita Indonesia*, Indonesian Women's Movement), its violent destruction, and associated attacks on women in the 1965–66 genocide. Her work, based on fieldwork conducted in the 1980s, was one of the first studies to place gendered violence at the centre of historical analysis in Indonesia. Wieringa focused on why women were attacked during this period and the long-term effects of this violence. Jacqueline Siapno's (2002) study of how Acehnese women negotiated and resisted the Indonesian military occupation within the context of a devout Muslim society similarly placed gender at the centre of analysis. More recent studies of women's experiences of historical cases of gendered violence committed by the Indonesian military throughout the New Order regime (1966–98) include the work of Annie Pohlman (2015), who used oral history interviews with survivors to document sexual violence

by members of the Indonesian military and police during the genocide. Anna Mariana (2015) has compared this case of 'fascist' violence against women to that used by the Japanese military during the 1942–45 occupation. Hannah Loney (2018) has used oral history to follow the arc of East Timorese women's narratives of gendered violence during the Indonesian occupation of that territory (1975–99), as well as to reflect upon trauma, ongoing fears of retribution, the distance of time, and the politics of memory in post-conflict societies. Again, with gender at the centre of her analysis, Lia Kent (2014) has examined the intersections between gender, violence and social suffering in post-conflict Timor-Leste. Kent (2016) has also analysed how women actively use silence as a strategy of coping with the aftermath of violence. The use of silence is a theme that is similarly taken up in this volume (see Dragolojvic, Chapter 7; Samuels, Chapter 9).

In the 1980s and 1990s, a number of domestic and international developments forced considerations of gendered violence onto the national political agenda in Indonesia, while also opening up the space for scholars and activists to study the phenomenon in a more comprehensive fashion. These international developments included the 1986 Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and associated conventions, which arose partly in response to revelations of mass rapes in the former Yugoslavia and rising activism around the so-called 'comfort women' issue (Coomaraswamy 1999b). This convention spelled out particular forms of gendered violence, including physical, sexual and psychological violence, occurring within the family or community or perpetrated by the state and its agents, as well as the trafficking and forced prostitution of women. The convention thus created a new discursive space to talk about gendered violence as a crime (see Mackie 2005). In Indonesia specifically, these developments had some important effects: several women's rights groups, for example, turned their attention to issues such as domestic violence, providing services for affected women and lobbying for the inclusion of marital rape in the criminal code (Blackburn 2004; Beech Jones, Chapter 1 this volume; Katjasungkana 2004; Rinaldo 2013).

A major turning point in terms of greater attention to gendered violence in Indonesia was the sexual violence of May 1998, which took place within the context of the fall of the long-standing New Order regime. In response to women's lobbying, the new Indonesian President B. J. Habibie created Komnas Perempuan (*Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan*, National Commission on Violence Against Women), an organisation which monitors multiple forms of gendered violence in Indonesia (Anggraeni 2014; Budianta 2003). Public protests and debates arising from May 1998 that focused on gendered violence also led to critical engagement around sexual violence and violence against women in Indonesia more broadly (Siegel 1998; Purdey 2006; Strassler 2004; Wandita 1998; Winarnita 2012). As Galuh Wandita has pointed out, many women who were speaking out about violence in the aftermath of May 1998 'opened up the way' for women from other areas of the archipelago

'to raise their voices and to state what similar atrocities' they had experienced (1998, 38). In an important volume edited by Nur Iman Subono (2000), Indonesian feminist scholars and activists analysed various forms of state violence against women that were being perpetrated in different regions of Indonesia (including Aceh, East Timor and West Papua), as well the case of the May 1998 rapes and violence against migrant workers.

In East Timor, there were similar prompts for greater attention to gendered violence in the final years of the New Order regime, partially in response to the emergence of an international women's movement. The non-government organisation, Fokupers (*Forum Komunikasi Perempuan Lorosa'e*), began documenting instances of gendered violence and providing support to victims from 1997 (Wandita 1998; Winters 1999a, 1999b). Following the militia-army-directed violence in the aftermath of the 1999 vote for independence, Timor-Leste's Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (*Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor-Leste*, CAVR) recorded various forms of violence against women that had been perpetrated during the Indonesian occupation, and pushed for post-conflict reconciliation and the implementation of official transitional justice mechanisms (2013). In this volume, Hannah Loney and Annie Pohlman (Chapter 4) delve further into the intersections between gender, torture, power and the visual dynamics of violence perpetrated by the Indonesian security forces in occupied East Timor.

Demonstrating the new global spotlight on violence against women, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Radhika Coomaraswamy, visited Indonesia in 1998 and wrote a significant report on violence against women (1999a). In the following decade, an increasing number of NGOs and government agencies produced studies on historical and contemporary cases of gendered violence. Komnas Perempuan (2009), for example, documented four decades of state violence against Indonesian women, analysing the similarities between various cases. Working with survivors and oral history, Indonesia-based NGOs such as the Asia Justice and Rights (AJAR) and the Eastern Indonesian Women's Network for the Study of Women, Religion and Culture (*Jaringan Perempuan Indonesia Timur untuk Studi Perempuan, Agama, dan Budaya*, JPIT) have also recorded women's experiences of the 1965–66 violence, and have engaged in processes of working with victims towards recovery (Kolimon, Wetangterah and Campbell-Nelson 2015). Similar work narrating East Timorese women's experiences of violence and activism was undertaken in independent Timor-Leste by local human rights activists Laura Abrantes and Beba Sequeira (2010).

The general reform movement (*Reformasi*) that had underpinned the collapse of the New Order regime in Indonesia generated increased attention to equity and gender justice (Martyn 2005). This shift included advocacy for new laws related to gendered violence, but also brought about conservative responses to reform and encroachments on gender equity, as a result of a rise in conservative politics. Tracking those developments, Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell's 2002 edited collection provides an overview of the political, social,

cultural and economic positions of women in this transition period. Similarly, in her historical study of women and the state in modern Indonesia, Susan Blackburn charts Indonesian women's organising around key issues that continued to generate public controversy in the *Reformasi* era: polygamy, motherhood and violence (2004). Four of the chapters within Blackburn's collection on power and gender relations in Southeast Asia (2001) examine the relationship between religion, culture, the law and women's public and private lives in Indonesia. More recent and detailed studies of trends related to the effects of conservative interpretations of Islam on women include the work of Nina Nurmila (2009) on women's experiences of polygamous marriages, Rachel Rinaldo (2013) on how Muslim and secular women activists have mobilised piety to their advantage, and Dina Afrianty (2018) on women's negotiation of shariah law in Aceh.

In recent years, scholars have offered rich studies of gendered violence across the archipelago, canvassing issues that include domestic violence, child marriage and violence against female migrant workers. Kate O'Shaughnessy (2009), for example, has examined gender, state and social power in Indonesia, with a specific focus on marriage and divorce law. Maria Platt (2017) has written on Muslim women's experiences of informal marriage, divorce and desire. Linda Rae Bennett (2005) has examined sexual and reproductive health in contemporary Indonesia. Finally, Nurul Ilmi Idrus and Linda Rae Bennett (2003) have analysed Bugis women's experiences of marital violence. Some studies also consider the extent to which state policies, police workers or religious officials have contributed to or helped address such violence. Examples here include the work of Sulistyowati Irianto (2016) and others on child marriage (Grijns, Horii, Irianto and Saptandari 2018), and Nina Hall's (2009) work on domestic violence in Timor-Leste. Sri Wiyanti Eddyono's 2018 book explores women's empowerment and disempowerment in a poor community in Jakarta, demonstrating how different groups of women have challenged oppressive authority. One form of gendered violence that we were unfortunately unable to cover in this volume is violence against and within LGBTQI communities. Here, we acknowledge the work of Benjamin Hegarty (2018) on *waria* or transgender people's experiences of violence, Matteo Carlo Alcano (2016) on violence and male sex work, and Sharyn Graham Davies (2010) on gender, gender diversity and sexuality.

Whereas other studies of gendered violence in Indonesia tend to take a state-centric or non-state-centric approach, our study is comprised of multiple case studies that span the archipelago and diaspora. This volume aims to deepen our understanding of gendered violence in Indonesia and related communities. The volume contributes to the broader established field of scholarship on gendered violence in modern Indonesian history, but is distinct due to its geographical breadth, historical depth and methodological diversity. Our collection comprises multiple case studies *across space*. Considering the diversity of the archipelago and diaspora communities, the collection sheds light upon the way in which local dynamics (including historical conditions,

religion, ethnicity and class) structure and inform experiences of gendered violence. In addition to this geographical breadth, the volume engages with case studies *across time*. From the Dutch colonial period, through the Japanese occupation, decolonisation and the emergence of the modern nation-state, the chapters traverse a long timeframe, highlighting key moments and time periods within modern Indonesian history. The chapters draw upon a diverse range of methodological approaches, including textual and narrative analysis, visual analysis, memory studies, affect studies and hauntology, and anthropological examinations of state institutions and structures.

The capacity for scholars and activists to research violence has increased significantly in post-New Order Indonesia, yet the legacies of this violent past are still very much alive in Indonesian society and politics today. This volume presents a unique snapshot of several cases of past violence in different locations across the archipelago. Together, the chapters demonstrate the complex links between forms of structural inequality and state/non-state violence, as well as the various ways in which public, private and personal violence are all deeply connected. The chapters show the plurality of forms of gendered violence, and the diverse ways in which stories and experiences of violence can be told. The interdisciplinary nature of the collection also reveals the range of research being conducted into gendered violence in Indonesia today, drawing upon various disciplines and areas of interest. In many ways, our approach compliments Sara Niner's (2017) edited collection on gender in post-conflict Timor-Leste, with a broader focus here on the dynamics and legacies of historical gendered violence in Indonesia and beyond.

The collection draws upon multilingual sources and different research methodologies. It showcases some of the possibilities for undertaking research on gendered violence within the Indonesian context, but also provides examples for studies of gendered violence more broadly. The volume includes several contributions by Indonesian scholars, demonstrating a shift from previous literature that has primarily stemmed from foreign countries (the Netherlands, the United States, Germany and Australia, among others). Most chapters in this volume also invoke the voices of Indonesian women, including in textual and embodied forms (see Beech Jones, Chapter 1; Dirgantoro and Hatley, Chapter 5; Winarnita and Setiawan, Chapter 6). Building on the work of an emerging generation of young Indonesian feminist scholars, we hope that this volume will pave the way for further research that will remove gendered violence from 'the margins' of analyses of violence in Indonesian history and society (Purdey 2004, p. 204).

Overview of the book

The chapters in this volume are based on papers that were presented at a workshop, 'Gendered Violence Across Time and Space: The Netherlands East Indies, Indonesia, and Timor-Leste', which was held at the University of Melbourne from 9 to 11 May 2018.[1] In this volume, the chapters are arranged

into four themes: textual narratives; visualising violence; commemorating violence; and the politics of care. The opening chapters chart different ways of narrating, witnessing, recording and visualising gendered violence across time and space. These chapters demonstrate the range of registers across which feminist postcolonial historians can trace views about, and locate evidence of, gendered violence. In the case of historical instances of violence, these registers include modes of indirect and culturally nuanced commentary, through to partial archival and written records. In the case of visualised violence, this ranges from unintended documentation through to deliberately staged photographs. As the chapters progress, the reader moves closer to the present, with the chapters drawing upon approaches from cultural studies, memory studies, anthropology, and studies of law and society. The contributors consider the long aftermath of gendered violence, the use of different mediums to communicate intergenerational memories of past suffering, as well as the provision of care to those affected by gendered violence.

The opening chapters analyse textual narratives of gendered violence that took place in the first half of the twentieth century. The texts examined in Chapter 1 were written by ethnic Minangkabau women in the early twentieth century, and describe how they bore witness to the effects of intimate violence. The texts featured in Chapter 2 include both archive records compiled during and shortly after the Japanese occupation, and one journalist's account from the early 1990s of what we would today classify as sexual violence committed by the Japanese military against Dutch and Indonesian women.

In Chapter 1, 'Narrating Intimate Violence in Public Texts: Women's Writings in the West Sumatran Newspaper *Soenting Melajoe*', Bronwyn Anne Beech Jones investigates how women wrote about experiences of family violence in the early Malay-language women's newspaper, *Soenting Melajoe*. Through close attention to language and tone, as well as an intimate awareness of her own temporal, geographic and cultural position, Beech Jones analyses how norms derived from Minangkabau *adat* (customary law and norms derived from local traditions) and interpretations of Islam are reflected in the texts. Moving beyond a simplistic view of Minangkabau women as enjoying more power in a matrifocal society, Beech Jones shows how contributors conceptualised their place in families and communities as both powerful and marginal. This chapter highlights the strong sense of solidarity between the writers and readers of the newspaper, and the emergence of an alternative network of communication which Beech Jones describes as 'a nation of women'. Through a close analysis of the women's writing styles, Beech Jones reflects upon the complexity of women's forms of self-expression. She argues that the contributors to *Soenting Melajoe* not only wrote about violence against women, but they also appealed to readers of the newspaper to join with them in lamenting and remembering women's suffering, and in advocating for systems of care to be reformed.

In Chapter 2, 'Living in a Conflict Zone: Gendered Violence during the Japanese Occupation of the Netherlands East Indies', Katharine McGregor

reflects upon the partial evidence available to reconstruct a picture of experiences of sexual and gendered violence during the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies. McGregor suggests that although Indonesian women remain subaltern in surviving Dutch records of the occupation, historians can still piece together some of their experiences. She focuses in particular on Dutch, Eurasian and Indonesian women's experiences of forced prostitution or sexual slavery, forced marriage, as well as relationships based on some form of negotiation. In order to think critically about the breadth of sexual violence in this period, McGregor outlines the complex dynamics of power that existed between Japanese soldiers and civilians, Indonesian and Dutch women who were residents of the colony. The chapter highlights the need to pay constant attention to the conditions of the occupation that underpinned many instances of sexual violence, including cases of rape through to repeated abuse in so-called comfort stations, prison camps for Dutch people or within forced marriages. Throughout the chapter, McGregor reflects on how cases of sexual violence are reported and by whom, and the problems of neatly labelling women's experiences and awarding them agency. Expanding the frame of reference, she considers how other forms of gendered violence, including coercion by family members or communities, may have contributed to sexual violence.

The following chapters analyse visual evidence of gendered violence, as we move into the post-World War Two period. Chapter 3 looks at implied violence against Indonesian women and children captured in the personal photographs of Dutch soldiers who fought against Indonesians during the Indonesian National Revolution (1945–49). Chapter 4, by contrast, critically deconstructs the violence behind photographs of very explicit torture committed by the Indonesian soldiers against East Timorese women during the occupation of that territory.

In Chapter 3, 'Home at the Front: Violence Against Indonesian Women and Children in Dutch Military Barracks during the Indonesian National Revolution', Susie Protschky focuses on a collection of Dutch soldiers' amateur photographs from the military operations of 1945–50. Applying a feminist focus to the larger context in which the images were produced, Protschky argues that the photographs offer valuable insights into 'how gendered and racialised structures of colonial violence manifested' during this period. The chapter reflects on what the photographs tell us about soldiers' notions of masculinity and colonial discourses of humanitarian rule. Protschky analyses different forms of gendered violence revealed through both soldiers' photographs and other sources, including violence against children in the form of child labour, both in the barracks and through the recruitment of young Indonesian boys into soldiering for Dutch forces. These visual records capture a relatively neglected form of violence perpetrated by Dutch soldiers: that of the coerced concubinage of Indonesian women in Dutch military barracks. Through the innovative use of this partial archive, Protschky complicates our understanding of gendered and racialised violence at the end of the Dutch empire.

In Chapter 4, 'The Sexual and Visual Dynamics of Torture: Analysing Atrocity Photographs from Indonesian-Occupied East Timor', Hannah Loney

and Annie Pohlman analyse the visual dynamics of violence perpetrated by the Indonesian security forces during the occupation of East Timor (1975–99). Drawing upon broader literature on atrocity images, Loney and Pohlman argue that despite the ethical challenges posed by the existence, circulation and uses of visual materials created by perpetrators, these sources should be considered evidence of crimes and can be critically analysed to tell us more about the nature and form of gendered violence. The authors carefully unpack a small selection of torture photographs that feature female victims, analysing what the perpetrators' intentions may have been in producing such mementos of violence. Through such an analysis, the authors demonstrate that the highly gendered and sexualised forms of torture being perpetrated and displayed in the photographs were for the soldiers' essential components of performing, documenting and commemorating these horrific acts. Loney and Pohlman argue that these processes of production and consumption reveal an explicitly visual dimension to the gendered violence practised by the Indonesian security forces in East Timor.

Continuing the theme of performance and the commemoration of gendered violence, Chapters 5 and 6 offer analyses of works produced by playwrights, novelists and artists long after violence has taken place. Chapter 5 considers two different forms of theatre performance related to women survivors of the 1965–66 violence. Chapter 6 analyses how violence against ethnic Chinese women in the May 1998 riots has been remembered twenty years later, in a diaspora community in Melbourne, Australia.

In Chapter 5, 'Memory on Stage: Affect, Gender and the Performative in 1965–66 Survivor Testimonies', Wulan Dirgantoro and Barbara Hatley examine the representational complexities of memory in two Indonesian dramatic performances that engage with the state-sanctioned violence of the 1965–66 anti-communist killings. The two theatre performances considered are *Turmoil at the Sacred Grave* (2017), devised and produced by Agung Kurniawan and Irfanuddien Ghozali, and *The Silent Song of Genjer Flowers* (2015), written and directed by Faiza Mardzuki. These works focus on different ways of narrating gendered violence against women. Drawing on Marianne Hirsch's (2012) concept of 'postmemory', Dirgantoro and Hatley compare the artistic strategies and experiential impact of *Silent Song*, in which actors relay survivors' testimonies, and *Turmoil*, in which real-life survivors perform and audience member participate. Both plays recall the gendered violence of 1965–66 in ways that celebrate the strength of the survivors and memorialise their legacy for future generations. By focusing on the family as a critical site for the intergenerational transmission of trauma, this discussion offers insights into broader discourses on gender, power and the aftermath of violence in post-New Order Indonesia.

In Chapter 6, 'Commemorating Gendered Violence Two Decades On: Chinese Indonesian Women's Voices in the Diaspora', Monika S. Winarnita and Ken M.P. Setiawan analyse literary and artistic works which take up the theme of sexual violence against ethnic Chinese Indonesian women in the

May 1998 riots, as well as the twentieth anniversary commemoration of this violence in Melbourne. As a consequence of the 1998 violence, many Chinese Indonesians—a small and often vulnerable minority—fled the country and resettled across the globe. Situated within the broader literature on memory, with insights from human rights studies, Winarnita and Setiawan examine how gendered and racialised violence is remembered and commemorated in a situation of both temporal and geographical distance. They analyse the work of Chinese Indonesian women artists and writers who seek to counter dominant narratives that silence the systematic gender-based violence towards ethnic minorities, and consider the particular challenges that these activists encounter in raising past injustices.

The final section of the book considers gendered violence and the politics of care, examining questions such as who is deemed worthy of and receives care in the aftermath of violence. Chapter 7 looks at the Indisch population in the Netherlands. Chapters 8 and 9 are case studies from Aceh, the northernmost province of Indonesia. Aceh has experienced three decades of armed conflict and, more recently, the implementation of strict interpretations of Islamic law that focus on policing morality (Srimulyani 2010; Afrianty 2015; Feener, Kloos and Samuels 2016). The combined effects of these processes are both heightened levels of suffering and trauma across family histories, and an increased focus on conservative interpretations of Islam. In this context, Chapter 8 focuses on the conditions surrounding local recognition of harm, including varied interpretations of the Quran and the related receipt of care in the context of domestic violence. Chapter 9 analyses how structural gendered violence limits the possibilities of care in the case of HIV positive women who face pressures to disguise their illness.

In Chapter 7, 'Caring for the Un-Speakable: Coercive Pedagogies, Shame, and the Structural Violence Continuum in Indisch Intergenerational Memory Work', Ana Dragojlovic examines how varied forms of structural inequalities, both historical and contemporary, are central for the experience and management of intergenerational suffering. The chapter focuses on the personal and collective memory work of persons of Indisch background, whose families lived in the Netherlands from the 1940s to the 1950s, following the demise of the Dutch colonial empire. Dragojlovic uses the concept of a 'structural violence continuum' to argue against an easy compartmentalisation of silence as psychopathological numbness and a naturalised response to long histories of violence. Paying close attention to racialised, gendered and intergenerational memory work, Dragojlovic explores the various dynamics of violence, speech, shame and haunting. She analyses the lyrics of the Indisch pop musician Wouter Muller and the consumption of his music to chart how and why certain forms of violence, coercion and marginalisation are openly addressed while others remain 'un-speakable'. Dragojlovic argues that Muller and those who consume his music are engaging in the *work of care*: a form of emotional labour that seeks to alleviate intergenerational suffering brought on by long histories of structural violence.

In Chapter 8, 'The Politics of Care: A Case Study of Domestic Violence in Aceh', Balawyn Jones considers community understandings of domestic violence in Aceh and, in particular, how local cultural and religious constructs of gender inform or produce responses to domestic violence at the community level. Wary of essentialist constructions of 'Muslim' beliefs about domestic violence, Jones offers a complex analysis of diverse views of what is seen to constitute 'violence' or harm. She establishes that community constructions of these concepts are critically important to understanding the type of care that is made available to victims, as well as the politics of community recognition. Jones argues that despite the introduction of the Anti-Domestic Violence Law in 2004 that criminalised domestic violence, in practice, community actors often silence, ignore, minimise, normalise, justify or excuse violence in the household. Specifically, Jones suggests, many community members believe that interpretations of Islam permit some forms of physical violence as disciplinary or educative in relation to women's compliance or non-compliance with their *kodrat* ('God-given nature'). Yet, as Jones demonstrates, women still navigate these contexts by exercising agency in the face of victimisation.

In Chapter 9, 'Gendered Violence, Gendered Care: Non-Intervention, Silence Work and the Politics of HIV in Aceh', Annemarie Samuels analyses how silence, in the case of HIV positive patients in Aceh, can limit, but sometimes also enable, the possibilities of care. Samuels demonstrates how silence is implicated in both gendered violence and women's responses to such violence. Drawing on two stories of HIV-positive women that illuminate the multiple forms of structural and intimate violence influencing their lives, Samuels suggests that political acts of *not* intervening in healthcare provisions for vulnerable groups may exacerbate the suffering caused by gendered violence. At the same time, women engage in what Samuels calls 'silence work' in response to conditions of violence and limited care, as they consciously navigate silence and speech to remake their everyday lives. Samuels argues that women's silence and the lack of healthcare interventions are intricately connected to layered experiences of gendered violence.

To conclude the book, the afterword by Ana Dragojlovic, 'Gender, Violence, Power: The Pervasiveness of Heteropatriarchal Moral Orders in Indonesia Across Time and Space' broadens our discussion to consider the larger overarching structural context of heteropatriarchy that permeates multiple forms of gendered violence. Thinking with the eminent gender theorist Donna Haraway (2015), Dragojlovic reflects upon our collective insights and asks what we, as scholars working on violence, might do—not only write about, but also cultivate 'the capacity to respond' to multiple forms of violence. She also proposes further avenues for research on gendered violence in Indonesia and beyond.

Although all chapters in this volume focus on communities that have historically been connected to Indonesia, they are written in dialogue with research on gendered violence that extends across multiple contexts. As such, the volume offers new insights into the diverse ways in which gendered violence has been

experienced, narrated and understood. More broadly, we hope that these reflections are of use to activists and carers seeking recognition and redress for past and contemporary cases of gendered violence in Indonesia today.

Note

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1 Narrating intimate violence in public texts

Women's writings in the Sumatran newspaper *Soenting Melajoe*[1]

Bronwyn Anne Beech Jones

With grief I write,	*Dengan doekatjita saja karangkan*,
Of a wretched destiny,	*Oentoeng jang malang saja seboetkan*;
I hope my sisters the editors will approve,	*Harap oeni Red. soeka masoekkan*,
It as to appear in Soenting.	*Kedalam Soenting minta' tompangkan*.
A girl I remember,	*Seorang perawan saja ingati*,
I knew her by the name Aminah;	*Aminah konon namanja sitti'*;
Shooting the cause of her death,	*Tertembak sebab makanja mati*,
It felt like my heart was destroyed.	*Hantjoer loeloelah rasanja hati*.

Siti Jasinah's 18 February 1916 'Poem of a Girl Shot to Death' implored readers to remember her fellow Pariaman student and friend, Aminah.[2] This poem was published in *Soenting Melajoe*, the first newspaper to be edited exclusively by women in the Netherlands East Indies. Printed in Padang, on Sumatra's West Coast, *Soenting Melajoe*'s weekly editions between June 1912 and February 1921 offer windows into the experiences and emotions of women and girls who suffered from or witnessed intimate violence.

In the first surviving editorial of prominent West Sumatran journalist and educator Roehana Koedoes (27 July 1912, p. 1), she referred to this newspaper as a 'garden' for women to 'plant the seeds' of knowledge. As a garden of print, *Soenting Melajoe* stretched over two thousand typeface-filled pages which were sent back-and-forth across Sumatra's West Coast before being published in the bustling port capital, Padang. More broadly, as a 'garden' of minds, *Soenting Melajoe*'s contributors looked far beyond newsprint margins: they envisaged societal changes, distant lands and alternative futures for generations of educated women. *Soenting Melajoe* was a unique forum for women to pose normative questions concerning morality, womanhood and power relations, and to protest against inequalities that they faced. However, when dealing with intimate violence, women writing in the newspaper encountered serious constraints in terms of what they felt could be expressed openly in this public forum.

This chapter analyses women's employment of symbolic schemas and expressive strategies to articulate intimate violence and critically reflects on

our textual encounters with *Soenting Melajoe* contributors. I first provide historical context and situate *Soenting Melajoe* as a source that can be used to challenge a limiting gaze in historical studies of Minangkabau women. The chapter then explores affective literacies and solidarities through three case studies: power and the supernatural in marital conflict (1912–13); a young woman's plea for public acknowledgement of her friend's murder (1916); and initiatives to support victims of domestic violence (1918). I examine how women described gendered power relations in marriages, families and communities, and the ways in which these power relations shaped how contributors directly and indirectly narrated violence perpetrated by husbands and partners within the home.

The press and the pen

Soenting Melajoe's foundation editors, Roehana Koedoes and Zoebeidah Ratna Djoewita, underscored how their newspaper was exclusively edited by women, distinguishing it from *Poetri Hindia* (Daughter of the Indies), a newspaper that had been founded by Raden Mas Djokomono Tirto Adhi Soerjo in Batavia in 1908. *Soenting Melajoe* was supported by a male patron, Datoe' Soetan Maharadja, a prominent journalist in the political faction labelled *Kaoem Toea* (Old Group). Datoe' Soetan Maharadja founded the daily newspaper *Oetoesan Melajoe* (Malay Messenger) in 1910 as the flagship publication of the Association of the Minangkabau Realm's *Snelpersdrukkerij* (Fast-Printing Press) (Adam 2003, p. 131). When *Soenting Melajoe* was founded in June 1912, his *Snelpersdrukkerij* and others associated with *Kaoem Toea* politics advocated for Western-style education and modernity within Minangkabau matrilineal customary law and norms derived from local traditions (*adat*) structures (Abdullah 1971, p. 12). Instead of engaging with a binary between the progressive, *adat*-promoting *Kaoem Toea* and modernist Muslim *Kaoem Moeda* (Young Group), this chapter analyses how women drew upon co-existing normative bases and understandings of tradition, progress, modernity, justice and religion, whilst crafting their own political agendas.

Soenting Melajoe literally translates as Malay 'Headdress'. However, it could also denote 'Editing Malay', possibly a pun on its intentions to celebrate Malay women and advocate for reformed gender expectations (Hadler 2000, p. 22). According to biographer Fitriyanti (2005, p. 99), Roehana, in the small town Kotogadang, sent copy to Ratna Djoewita (the patron Maharadja's daughter) at *Snelpersdrukkerij*. From November 1913, the paper's printing house was in the predominantly ethnic-Chinese business district of Pondok, near Padang's harbour, which enabled the paper's wide networks of circulation. The map (Figure 1.1), which I created, charts *Soenting Melajoe* contributors' approximate locations from 1912–13, 1915–16 and 1918–19. This map depicts how *Soenting Melajoe*'s community of writers was most

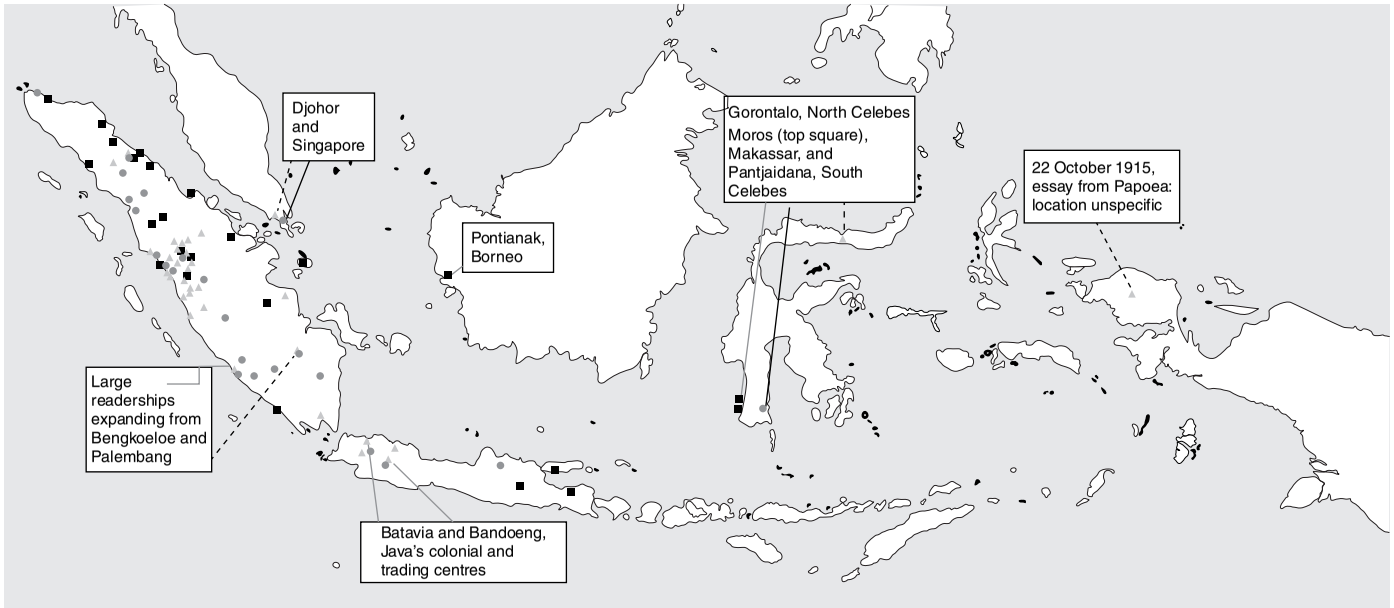

Figure 1.1 *Soenting Melajoe* contributor locations, based on a map from Robert Cribb (2010) *Digital Atlas of Indonesian History* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press). *Square*: July 1912–July 1913; *triangle*: July 1915–July 1916, not including a forwarded letter from Amsterdam; *circle*: July 1918–July 1919. Reproduced with permission.[5]

concentrated in Sumatra's western interior, but how contributions also came from villages throughout Sumatra and further afield.

Many *Soenting Melajoe* writers referred to their 'sisters' (*saoedarakoe perempoean*), invoking a commonality as members of a 'nation of women' (*bangsa perempoean*). Some suggested that the readership belonged to a Malay ethno-nation. For instance, a 20 March 1914 (p. 1) letter from Batavia celebrated how 'essays written by children of our Malay nation […] produced by a Malay printing house' allowed the writer to 'see how intelligent and developed the women of my Malay nation are'.[4] This coheres with other invocations, like that of Javanese woman Raden Ajoe Mangkoedimedjo who, when writing in *Poetri Hindia* in 1909, used the phrase 'nation of women' to refer to Javanese women (Mangkoedimedjo and Salmon 1977, p. 125). According to Lynn Parker (2001, p. 61), middle-class Balinese women in the 1920s also self-identified as the '*bangsa perempoean*'. '*Bangsa*' could be translated as nation, race, people or a category underpinned by a sense of 'sameness' often understood as ethnic homogeneity, informed by its Sanskrit etymologic root *vaṃśa*, meaning lineage (Milner 2002, p. 51).

However, some of *Soenting Melajoe*'s contributors invoked the '*bangsa perempoean*' to elicit a multi-ethnic community. This included Siti Fatimah (30 January 1913, p. 1) from Riau, who conceived of an all-encompassing female community: 'We women are of the same nation / Every year for all time'.[5] *Soenting Melajoe*'s writers therefore challenged Sartono Kartodirdjo's (2001, p. 119) contention that 'there were no networks available going beyond ethnic boundaries' before the emergence of nationalist sentiment. Zoebeidah Ratna Djoewita's editorial 'The Intelligence of Us Women' (3 August 1912, p. 2) provided an introductory glimpse into this network's basis. Ratna Djoewita contrasted male detractors to *Soenting Melajoe* writing in other publications who she thought possessed minds 'as new as a child' with women's divinely granted strength and intelligence:[6] 'We women have been destined by God to be a noble-hearted nation, to become the nation of mothers, the nation who gives milk'.[7]

It was through this newspaper that women and girls sought to reform the expectations of a 'polite and upright' (*sopan dan santoen*) woman. Frequent correspondent and Bengkulu teacher, Amna Karim, wrote on 30 January 1913 (p. 2) that this 'nation'—which she mapped onto the Netherlands East Indies—sought to promote literacy, craft skills and health information whilst challenging oppressive practices like polygamy. Contributors sketched a womanhood which encompassed upholding familial and cultural responsibilities, articulating opinions on social issues, and seeking education and employment. This was a hybrid conceptualisation of progress (*kemadjoean*) which, in Amna's words, would empower women so that they could 'drink the nectar of the sweet-smelling flowers' of opportunity.[8]

Attempting to determine the boundaries of the *bangsa perempoean* and the 'garden' of *Soenting* raises epistemological challenges. *Soenting Melajoe* was written in non-standardised Malay, influenced by but not obeying standardised

van Ophuijsen Malay orthography, which was introduced in 1901. The newspaper contains linguistic fluidity, fusing Minangkabau, Dutch and occasionally English words, as well as Minangkabau-Malay *pantun* poetics which house meaning within a sometimes seemingly unrelated 'hook' This feature presents a translator with the complex if not impossible task of conveying layers of rhetorical meaning. Motivated by literary theorist and feminist critic Gayatri Spivak's ([1993] 2009, p. 202) advice to 'surrender to the text' as the site where the 'self loses its boundaries', where possible I have traced multiple contributions from one author to identify stylistic patterns as clues to each writer's self-expression. It is important to acknowledge that many women were anxious about the expressive inadequacy of their writing. This demonstrates that while writing was considered empowering, texts represent only a public print fragment of complex selves.

Restoring women's agency in Minangkabau history

With the notable exceptions of Jeffrey Hadler (2000, 2008), Susan Blackburn (1999, 2004) and Azizah Etek et al. (2007), many previous historical inquiries into Minangkabau women in the colonial era have primarily drawn upon colonial ethnographic reports to understand Minangkabau society. Russian anthropologist Maretin (1961, p. 170) identified a related 'archaization' of Minangkabau studies due to this reliance upon colonial Resident reports and ethnological guides, instead of fieldwork, literature or newspapers. Ethnographic guides such as M. Joustra's *Minangkabau: An Overview of the Country, History and People* (1925) are exemplary of circular systems of colonial knowledge gathering, which both drew upon resident reports and were used by officials to understand subjects (Platenkamp and Pragar 1994, p. 716). Joustra's influential 1925 thesis of cultural decline, for example, held that matrilineal *adat* was perpetually 'losing ground' in a 'triangular battle between custom, Islam, and a modern Western view'.[9]

Taufik Abdullah's 1971 book *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927–1933)* established a new paradigm of Minangkabau colonial-era histories. Rather than weakening cultures, Abdullah contended that a dynamic tension between religion and *adat* produced cultural resilience. However, women's perspectives were noticeably absent from this analysis, notwithstanding their implicit presence in discussions of *adat* and cultural symbols. Contemporaneously, in 1970, Minangkabau students in Jakarta sought to pioneer a demythologised Minangkabau national history (Imran et al. 1970). In this attempt to pursue a 'true' account, Minangkabau history became focused on male village-council politics. By removing indigenous Minangkabau histories' (*tambo*) cultural focus, particularly on female mythical leaders like matriarchy's symbolic queen the *Bundo Kanduang* (Real Mother), positivist approaches have excluded women from analyses.

Conversely, feminist anthropological studies of Minangkabau women from the 1970s have critically reconsidered the complexity of women's roles, power and identities in postcolonial Indonesia (Blackwood 1995, 2001; Heider 1991,

2011; Krier 1995; Schrijvers and Postel-Coster 1977; Simon, 2014). By highlighting women's involvement in economic exchanges, dispute resolution and ceremonial practices, these valuable studies revealed how cultural and gender identities are predicated on perpetually reformulated 'traditions'. These methodologies, however, are yet to infuse historical analyses of Minangkabau women in the early twentieth century.

This chapter's focus on women's writings in *Soenting Melajoe* diverges from the existing histories by presenting the ambiguities of self-representation, rather than a linear narratology. The chapter's two-fold engagement with affect in *Soenting Melajoe* is prompted by critical reflection on my positionality as a foreign historian separated temporally, geographically, culturally and linguistically from *Soenting Melajoe*'s writers. Following Amsler (2011, p. 103), I examine contributors' affective literacies, understood as 'emotional, spiritual, physiological, somatic responses readers have when reading or perceiving a text'. Analysing how writers articulated their thoughts and emotions and how readers responded, the chapter illuminates the processes which fashioned the newspaper's readership as a collective subjectivity and the limits of our own affective connections to writers. The following three case studies attempt to read, feel and traverse through three relational spaces between writer, readers of the *bangsa perempoean*, and us reading today.

Wellbeing and power (1912)

On 30 November 1912, Zahara, a teacher from Padang Panjang, sparked the first sustained reader debate in *Soenting Melajoe* on how gender expectations were shaped by interpretations of tradition and religion. Zahara's letter provocatively asked why women continued to enter polygamous marriages, be burdened by work, and finance their husbands despite having 'already moved towards progress' (*soedah bergerak ke arah kemadjoean*). Zahara's questions generated multiple impassioned responses, demonstrating polygamy's controversial and prominent nature. According to census statistics cited in Blackburn (2004, p. 19), in 1930 nine percent of marriages on Sumatra's West Coast were polygamous, the highest proportion in the Indies.

One week after Zahara's letter was published, Kamisah (7 December 1912, p. 1), a regular correspondent also from Padang Panjang, reoriented the responsibility for polygamy from wives to husbands' relatives initiating engagements. In response, Siti Aliah from Palembang, South Sumatra (28 December 1912, p. 2), criticised the oft-repeated reasoning that 'according to Shariah and adat, polygamy is not prohibited, but men are obligated to provide for their wives' on the basis that Minangkabau women provided for their husbands.[10] Conversely, Kamisah had previously urged her 'sisters' to break the uncritical intergenerational transmission of *adat* and embrace a universal progressivism: 'let us together throw away those unjust customs for this is the era of change'.[11]

Kamish's portrayal of polygamous marriages as disrupting marriage's harmonious order is suggestive of the influence of Dutch gender norms and

criticism of polygamy. Notably, influential Orientalist scholar and colonial advisor Snouck Hurgronje (1915) considered polygamy 'the great abandonment of the marriage bond' which 'prevented the normal development of the family'.[12] Contrastingly, in her travel letters, President of the Dutch Association for Women's Suffrage, Aletta Jacobs (1915), regarded polygamy as a symptom of patriarchal attitudes and class differences, rather than a Minangkabau custom. Jacobs expressed sympathy for a seventeen-year-old girl from Payakumbuh whose husband had married a Japanese woman upon his transferral to Medan's Opium Region. Casting her as a victim, Jacobs recalled how 'she grabbed my hand with both her hands and said that she would rather go with me [than stay]'.[13] In contrast, Kamisah considered polygamy to be 'not something of shame for us Minangkabau women', instead advocating that women should abolish it together to ensure that Minangkabau 'entered the group of progress which has nearly always unfailingly been our nation's calling'.[14] The debate herein remained tied to an overarching goal of 'progress' (*kemadjoean*) equated with opportunities and respect for women.

In January 1913, a different Siti Zahara, daughter of Pariaman's police chief, A. Soetan Djamin, wrote in support of her Padang Panjang namesake about the immense pain polygamy can cause (23 January 1913, p. 3). Her dialogic format created a textual conversation on polygamy's damaging consequences, provocatively challenging a religious justification: 'has our God, who is so loving, willed his servants to vex their fellow human beings?'[15] After outlining how polygamy could produce jealousy and heartache for women, Zahara moved to consider far more taboo subjects.

Zahara rejected the notion that a patient wife of logical mind and loving heart would be taught to 'accept' her situation, before suggesting that multiple Minangkabau women

> had already killed themselves, apparently due to polygamy. It also could be because a woman thought that she was less than a man, so it was better to die than bear thoughts that were much like being tormented by a thousand jinn.[16]

Siti Zahara's comments are significant for linking gendered harm to expectations on women to be 'loving' wives. For Zahara, physical and non-physical suffering needed to be considered together as conflict between husbands and wives impacted women's hearts (*hati*) and selves (*diri*) as much as their bodies. The themes of limited agency and fatalism run through Zahara's article, in which she framed women's 'worries or challenges' as not their own design. Throughout the article, she attributed these 'worries or challenges' to what we might label patriarchy. Zahara addressed those who claimed:

> "Oh, that is adat for Muslims, men have power over their wives." The writer replies, in what regard? Who made those rules? Men! It seems that wives can be made unsafe [or put into difficulty] because of the desires of men alone.[17]

The object of Zahara's contempt was wives' acquiescence to husbands seeking to marry again and, more broadly, hierarchical power dynamics in marriages.

Piecing together this commentary on power dynamics in marriages provides a basis to re-read Zahara's account of women's suffering. Siti Zahara's analogy between anguish and the torment of a thousand jinn opens the possibility of the supernatural (*gaib*) as a way of externalising psychological pain (Smith 2018). Zahara wrote that it was unequal power relations in marriages which caused families to 'become enemies' (*menjadikan bermoesnoeh* [sic]). She explained that women sought the assistance of *dukun* healers 'so her husband will love her' (*soepaja lakinja kasih akan dia*), and that administering prescribed potions 'relied upon the power of the wife' to deceive her husband.[18] For Zahara, these acts were ultimately futile as they did not change the feeling of being coerced. A sense of powerlessness ripples through Zahara's often turbulent writing style. Although she disputed polygamy's inevitably because in her view it was sanctioned by male-shaped *adat* and religious 'rules', there is little indicating that she envisaged how women's 'worries or challenges' could be alleviated. Indeed, she concluded, 'I call out to my women of my nation, in the Minangkabau world, when will just laws come for us women?'[19]

These women fundamentally agreed that polygamy was detrimental to women, and yet they formulated their arguments around different conceptual fulcrums. Siti Zahara introduced a radical new idea that women's perceived inferiority—'men consider our bones are weak, our energy lesser'—was a determinant in marital and family conflict.[20] This multifaceted criticism challenges Jeffrey Hadler's (2000, p. 23) assertion that writers in *Soenting Melajoe* had a contrived sense of oppression inconsistent with the empowerment they experienced through economic roles which, in his view, 'did not nearly conform to the more contentious and persecuted feminisms of Java and Europe'. Instead, Hadler (2000, p. 23) contends that early contributors 'invented a particular, intolerable Minangkabau male authority against which they would rail'. This idea of 'invented' male power compared to Java's 'true' patriarchal structures perpetuates a dichotomous understanding of Minangkabau 'matriarchy' as all-empowering, which ignores the complexity of power relations within families and communities. Such perspectives obscure *Soenting Melajoe* contributors, like Siti Zahara, who grasped at new language and concepts to explain what we might understand as the role of discursive power—who 'wrote' or interpreted *adat* and religious laws pertaining to marriage.

Hadler's emphasis on analysing specific conditions is important, especially as Minangkabau *adat* contrasts strongly with Javanese upper-class (*priyayi*) hierarchical gender norms (Kartodirdjo et al. 1987, p. 192). However, as Selfi Mahat Putri (2015, p. 3) suggests in her insightful thesis on changing twentieth-century Minangkabau marriage expectations, 'patriarchal domination, through maternal uncle power-structures' and increasingly male monopolised local politics were 'wrapped in *adat* norms' which exalted women.[21] This supposes a crucial difference between women's symbolic and real power. Women

did manage matrilineally inherited agricultural land (*harto pusako*). However, through the Agrarian Regulation of 1915, the Netherlands East Indies attempted to assume ownership of so-called 'unoccupied lands' to maximise government crop harvests. These policies shifted Minangkabau gender roles by dealing only with lineage maternal uncles (*mamak*), not female landowners (Emilia 1995). This erosion of women's decision-making power corresponded with the publishing of folktales promoting female sacredness, producing what Simon (2014, p. 46) terms *adat* as a 'moral discourse'. Crystallising these interlinked processes, Taufik Abdullah (1970, p. 40) argued in relation to the moral tale *Tjindua Mato*, published by Datoe' Soetan Maharadja's *Snelpers-drukkerij* in 1918, that while sacred the queen embodying matriarchy (*Bundo Kanduang*) 'was powerless because she held no official position in the hierarchy of the Minangkabau political system'.

This debate demonstrates how concerns for women's well-being led to the consideration of how gender relations and uneven power dynamics were experienced and constructed. Reading Siti Zahara's letter, we recognise her attempts to articulate the injustice of unequal power which she considered a cause of family-based disputes. Yet, the discussion of polygamy's impacts on women only vaguely referenced physical impacts of violence.

A plea for remembrance (1916)

Our textual encounters with *Soenting Melajoe*'s women are characterised by temporal and cultural ravines only partially bridgeable by mutually recognisable emotions. Siti Jasinah's narrative poem (18 February 1916, pp. 2–3), is a 900-word attempt to make sense of her fellow teenager's death. It is difficult to provide a biographical sketch of Jasinah. Like Aminah, she lived in Sungai Limau, Pariaman, a northern area of Sumatra's West Coast considered a Minangkabau settler region (*rantau*). This poem is distinguished by its embodied and out-of-body expressions of anguish and sorrow. Sunarti (2013, p. 75) contended that narrative *syair* poetry was a form employed to convey a matter's importance and foster closeness with the reader. More specifically, women's composing of poetry reflected their role in poetry recitation at important moments of a life cycle (Sweeney 1987, p. 94). As editor Ratna Djoewita described in her 3 August 1912 outline of the nation of women's strength, 'while inside we cry at a death, we women can in that moment compose a lamentation'.[22]

Jasinah framed 'Poem of a Girl Shot to Death' as an imaginative act of witnessing: 'eyesight / not once tells a lie' (*penglihatan mata / sekali kali tidak berdoesta*). She described Aminah's father, teacher Soetan Mangkeoto, and his assistant-teacher Abdoelrahman's hunting trip to Sungai Sirah, establishing the Almighty's hand and the day's omens: 'This time Allah had moved / He let the men see many birds / But he gave them not one / Despite the many shots fired'.[23] The two men returned home, forgetting the remaining bullet and, together with Mangkeoto's wife and mother savoured 'the cool breeze which God gave'.[24]

It is here that we meet Djamin, who lived in the same house as Aminah, and was cared for by Aminah's family 'because he is of the same matrilineage (*kaoem*)':[25]

Djamin was accustomed to the task,	*Kerdja si Djamin soedah dibiasakan,*
If the rifles have been used,	*Kalau bedil soedah dipergoenakan,*
It is he who will clean them,	*Dia inilah akan membersihkan,*
Although no one has told him to.	*Walaupun tiada akan disoeroehkan.*

This lone description of Djamin is obscuring. Although one could interpret Djamin's willingness to clean the rifles as contributing to the household, it is striking how comparatively little Jasinah described his character:

It was that night,	*Pada malam ketika itoe,*
Nine o'clock the time told,	*Poekoel sembilan bilangan waktoe;*
Djamin said to his partner,	*Djamin berkata kepada sekoetoe,*
Take that rifle.	*Ambilkan bedil jang tersangkoet itoe.*

Jasinah imagined that Aminah took it at once and gave the rifle to Djamin before returning to prepare for her sister and her to sleep:

When passed through the door,	*Waktoe melintas dimoeka pintoe,*
The fates, God had made one;	*Takdir soedah Toehan jang satoe;*
The rifle went off then,	*Bedil meletoes ketika itoe,*
Hitting Aminah's upper-arm.	*Kenalah pangkal lengan Aminah itoe.*

There is no mention of Djamin's actions, nor of him again. We only read about Aminah's words of love to her siblings before she lost consciousness. Aminah's father, Soetan Mangkoeto, took Aminah to a neighbour's house and tried to find a doctor to cover her wounds. A *doekoen*—note the co-existence of Western and Minangkabau medicinal knowledges—then read 'offers and prayers' 'that Aminah would be saved'.[26] However, according to Jasinah, this was not Aminah's destiny.

Throughout this section, there is a figure who is difficult to pinpoint. Jasinah described an unnamed figure who touched the corpse's cold feet before realising that Aminah's soul had 'returned' to God, which 'dashed the heart of the lustful lover' (*mengecilkan hati sicinta berahi*).[27] While speculative, all other characters in Jasinah's poem are named, thus suggesting that this 'lustful lover' could be Djamin. Jasinah identified Djamin as belonging to the same matrilineage as Aminah, thereby rendering this 'lustful lover' as violating *adat* moral norms. Moreover, Aminah's death is described by way of a Malay idiom '*laksana ajam disambar helang*', or 'like a chicken struck by a hawk', which codes for an ill-fated, wretched death (Hassan and Mohd 2011, p. 266). Jasinah's idiom choice suggests that death hunts the innocent. This imagery and idiom are the closest her poem comes to attributing moral culpability for Aminah's death, rather than framing it as a pre-ordained event.

Directly following this hint of malevolence, Jasinah's poem shifted towards the personal. She was instructed to carry this news (*membawa madah*) to Aminah's family, reaffirming a sense that as with lamentations, conveying grief was women's work. Jasinah likened the painful impact of this news to 'being greeted by demons and ghosts', reminiscent of Zahara's consideration of the supernatural for torment. Jasinah recounted the family's paralysing grief visiting Aminah's corpse, culminating in Aminah's grandmother arriving with a gold bracelet Aminah had requested 'before Aminah sustained this wretchedness' (*sebeloem Aminah beroleh malang*). Chadwick (1994, p. 97) describes gold as 'the most valued symbol of earthly materiality' for Minangkabau which, combined with the form of bracelets given to women throughout their life, figuratively conveys Aminah's lost future.

Jasinah's poem reflects her traversing imagination, recollections and, finally, her emotional state when writing:

If this death is remembered,	*Matinja itoe kalau dikenang,*
Tears fall,	*Air mata djatoeh berlinang;*
The blood in my chest is uneasy,	*Darah didada rasa ta' senang;*
Feels like swimming in a large ocean.	*Laoetan besar rasakan direnang.*

Despite causing Jasinah pain, remembering Aminah's death was a truth-telling project. She ended by apologising for her lack of written fluency, stating that this was only because the news could not be 'sucked [from] her fingertips' (*dihisap dioedjoeng djari*). This demonstrates the value Jasinah ascribed to the act of writing—'carrying' the news—and that imaginative 'truth' was embodied rather than located in *rasa* (emotion) or *akal* (reason).

Jasinah's raw expression of grief did not go unnoticed. *Soenting Melajoe* published a letter and poem in reply from regular correspondent Siti Moetisah from Pasaman (14 April 1916, p. 2). Moetisah opened by stating that before writing, she had raised her hands to the sky and prayed to God and His Prophet that Aminah would be freed from the 'torment of the grave'. Although Moetisah wrote that 'nothing can describe here how my heart felt' when reading Jasinah's poem, she could describe her affective response, recounting how she had 'fainted, unbeknownst to myself' (*rebah pingsan saja tiada kabarkan diri*). Moetisah confessed that she struggled to imagine the emotional state of those who knew Aminah, before undertaking to imagine herself transported in a different body facing the bearers of this grief in an act of imagined closeness. However, Moetisah's focus not on how Aminah died, but the importance of praying for her in the hereafter, exposes a crucial tension.

Jasinah's poem was exceptional for detailing acts which led to Aminah's death and its consequences for family and friends. Conversely, Moetisah instructed her to 'not grieve too much, instead let us turn our hands towards the heavens', so hopefully she would be 'cared for' and protected 'from punishment and hell'.[28] Moetisah emphasised how salvation required the prayers of the living. Her accompanying poem took a sharper tone, reminding Jasinah that Aminah would

live on in the hereafter and advising her to 'not exaggerate heartache' (*beroesoeh hati djangan lebihkan*) but instead, accept Aminah's death and fortify her faith. Moetisah's advice corresponds with Siegel (1983, p. 3) who argues that Central Javanese Muslim death norms 'aim to send it [the soul] on its way rather than to keep it in memory'. Evidently, within the context of *Soenting Melajoe,* Jasinah's description of Aminah's death defied conventions in that she identified the family by name and hometown and made clear that Djamin held the rifle. More transgressive, though, was Jasinah's confession of overwhelming grief rather than acceptance of Aminah 'returning' to God.

Jasinah's reply (21 April 1916, pp. 1–2) portrayed her conflicting reaction to Moetisah's suggestions for appropriate grief. She opened by describing that the willingness to share sadness and offer prayers evidenced a 'loving and decent heart'. However, Jasinah's tone shifted to describe how praying for Aminah's soul had not eased her heartache:

[I have] Truly followed that advice,	*Ditoeroet soengoeh petoemoe itoe,*
Despite being haunted by demons and ghosts;	*Meskipoen digoda setan dan hantoe*
But memory does not disappear,	*Namoen ingatan ta' hilang tentoe,*
So too my heart.	*Demikian poela hatikoe itoe.*

Her verse's conclusion mirrored Moetisah's advice and language for grief, by urging readers to pray for the 'late Aminah [whom] we return'.[29] Yet, Jasinah's vulnerable poem also sought recognition for Aminah's death and her own grief. Conveying this news imparted Jasinah with agency to articulate the narrative of Aminah's death. Nevertheless, reading this poem a century later, I am left with two unshakeable images: Jasinah, the haunted carrier of grief, and the shadowy Djamin whose guilt remains unclear and unarticulated and from whom justice will not be sought.

Toward reform agendas (1918)

This final case study also begins beyond the page at the scene of a domestic 'accident'. Amna Karim's front-page editorial on 16 August 1918 recalled how a month earlier, at midday on a Friday, she had been called by her female relative who had been 'struck' (*ditimpa*) in a 'dangerous accident' (*ketjelakaan bahaja*) and quickly lost blood. Amna took her relative to Bengkulu's hospital as she considered it dangerous to leave her. She stated that it was not just because if left alone her relative could 'not easily call for a doctor'; rather, it was 'very dangerous for the injured', as readers 'understood more fully'.[30] Amna's outrage was not expressly toward this act of violence, but rather, her relative's treatment at Bengkulu's hospital.

From *Soenting Melajoe*, we can glean much about Amna's activism for girls' education in Bengkulu, a residency bordering Sumatra's West Coast to the south. Amna's father, Abdul Karim, was a Bukittinggi King's School

graduate employed as Head Teacher at Bengkulu's first-class school, which provided Amna with the opportunity to receive primary-level education. In 1914 and 1915, Amna petitioned Bengkulu's Resident to create a specialty girls' school, where she taught weaving and literacy. From *Soenting Melajoe*, it remains unclear whether Amna was part of the Rejang majority language-ethnic group in Bengkulu, as her print loyalties lay primarily with the 'nation' of Indies women (30 January 1913, p. 2). From 26 October 1917, after Datoe' Soetan Maharadja visited her in Bengkulu, Amna was installed as co-editor of *Soenting Melajoe* alongside Roehana Koedoes and Padang student Noermah (Ratna Djoewita stepped down after her August 1917 marriage).

Amna's editorial, 'Please take note!' (*Harap diperhatikan*!), was scathing of the shame caused when a woman's injuries sustained within her home were publicly witnessed. She described arriving at the hospital to find six to eight people crowding around to see a gravely injured woman who 'seemingly would not stand up again' (*ropea*[2] *ta'dapat berdiri lagi*). Amna wrote that despite it being 'very clear in medical science everywhere that the rooms of the ill should not be entered by many people', officials gave permission for many 'to watch for a while'.[31] Amna particularly targeted how this spectatorship caused women distress by imparting shame and risking further harm: 'A suffering borne by my sisters of the *bangsa perempoean*, who always endure unpleasant feelings, compounded by the severity their injuries'.[32] Amna resolved to convey these observations in *Soenting Melajoe* across the 'vast ocean of the Indies', particularly women's added embarrassment or shame when examined by male doctors.[33]

In contrast to chronicling women's suffering as Zahara and Jasinah had done previously, Amna's editorial proposed changes which would alleviate shame, especially for victims of intimate violence, whilst providing new opportunities. She observed how the examining *mandur*, a position Hesselink (2011) defines as a foreman or manager, 'carried out the work with the same rate of care' unlike 'a mother caring for her children'.[34] This echoed Ratna Djoewita's definition of the *bangsa perempoean*'s divinely granted strength and intelligence as 'a nation of mothers, the nation who gives milk'. By proclaiming healthcare as the most noble profession, Amna combined two strands of *Soenting Melajoe* activism: celebrating care-giving and promoting women's employment. Amna was particularly disturbed by a hierarchical power dynamic between *mandur* and female patients, particularly the expectation that: 'what must be done is given as a command and is followed'.[35] She identified how women, despite feeling coerced, complied with the *mandur*'s examination and questioning, 'because she truly wished for the help of the doctor'.[36] The inappropriateness (*rasa ta' patoet sekali*) of women feeling forced to reveal skin to male staff who were not their husbands (or family), reaffirmed to Amna the need for women to examine other women in hospitals.[37]

Therefore, Amna's programme drew upon cultural-religious normative foundations to advocate for roles for women. For Amna, both education and self-worth fostered by communality enabled women to speak out. She concluded by

rearticulating an argument she had made over six years in her writings for *Soenting Melajoe*, that the 'weak' of her nation where those whom were

> unable to articulate what she sees or feels in her heart, even though those things will destroy her; nothing can be done to push them away [the suffering women face], apart from to remain unchanged like a statue.[38]

Amna seemed conscious of how her privileged position— education, employment and editorship—allowed her to raise awareness about a lack of privacy in medical services. She even requested that Saadah Alim, editor of rival women's publication *Soeara Perempoean* (Women's Voice), republish her article so more 'sisters' could understand and together develop her programme.

Amna's call for women to not remain silent about suffering is rendered more powerful when we consider her future. On 9 October 1923, two years after *Soenting Melajoe* ceased, Snelpersdrukkerij's flagship newspaper *Oetoesan Melajoe* reported that Amna Karim had been murdered by her husband (Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisisch-Chineesche Pers 1923, p. 42). Knowing that Amna died in a family-violence incident changes how we read her call for services offering discrete care to women to avoid imparting shame. Although from Amna's letters to *Soenting Melajoe* it is difficult to establish whether she was experiencing violence, in this August 1918 editorial there are two points when Amna reflected on the limits of what should or could be written. When describing the *mandur* examining a woman's injuries, Amna thought she could not articulate why she felt so affronted and compelled to resist. She wrote:

> I cannot discuss this at length in this newspaper, which truly cannot hold secrets. Oh! In short, my sisters will understand themselves, I can say that in that moment all my feelings disappeared completely.[39]

We glean from this a sense of shock, but also a fear of her 'secret' being revealed, as well as the secret of her family member; possibly a veiled equivalent of what Simon (2014, p. 129) identified as a fear of a 'third person' (*orang ketiga*) causing distress. Thus, the imagined intimacy fostered across geographic, ethnic, and cultural space in *Soenting Melajoe* was inevitably circumscribed by its publicness.

However, assumed shared knowledge allowed Amna to attempt to communicate what she deemed unspeakable:

> Here I am forced to put down my pen, for what reason? None other than because of my heart's distress, which these days is considerable and which I bear all the time. It is with this type of matter, so I was rushed writing this.[40]

Amna's editorial can be read as an indirect discussion of her fears of exposure in hospitals. Her struggle to negotiate the normative boundaries of speech

which she believed was necessary and empowering, quite paradoxically exemplifies how ellipsis and indirection formed a language through which transgressive pain could be articulated.

The *bangsa perempoean* remembered Amna. In an obituary published in the women's periodical *Asjraq* (East) in July 1925 (p. 140), a writer signed R. A. wrote that tragically, 'this woman of noble ambitions did not have long to savour the fruits of her endeavours because in 1923 she left this mortal world, murdered by her own husband'.[41] R.A., a Minangkabau woman, considered Amna's work for girls and women more admirable as it took place in Bengkulu where, she commented, 'women are still caged like poultry' (*perempoean masih dikoeroeng seperti oenggas*). This exemplifies the co-existence of ethnocultural hierarchies alongside gender-based solidarity. R.A. celebrated Amna as the first woman to 'slash open a path for women's progress in her homeland' and hoped 'this hero of women' (*pahlawan perempoean ini*) would 'be safe in the life which will come'.[42] That this obituary was published two years after Amna's death is testament to the impact of her activist pen far beyond her Bengkulu classroom.

Writing in a garden's shadows

Stumbling across this *Asjraq* obituary to Amna Karim, Bengkulu's pioneer of girls' education, left me feeling unexpectedly sorrowful. I had been reading *Soenting Melajoe* for almost two years and through processes of translation, which Spivak conceived of as 'surrendering' to texts, I glimpsed how Amna grappled with pain and fear. These encounters were fleeting intersubjective moments. *Soenting Melajoe*, from Roehana's initial editorial, had conceived of itself as a garden to sow seeds of knowledge. This garden was one of commonality and initiatives, as well as a garden where the shadows of lives beyond its newsprint walls were cast.

Vernacular women's newspapers have the capacity to illuminate some of these shadows: fears, pain, sorrows, conflicts and struggles. Through analysing how women like Zahara, Jasinah and Amna expressed their emotions, experiences and thoughts a more complex, ambiguous and human history of Sumatran women in the colonial-era begins to emerge. Guha (1996, p. 12) has called upon historians to form new narratologies, possibly one which 'force[d] the narrative to stutter in its articulation instead of delivering an even flow of words'. This chapter has adopted a critically reflective approach to engaging with these women's writings on their own terms and in their own words, to understand Minangkabau and Indies women in the early twentieth century beyond dichotomies—elite/non-elite, empowered/oppressed, tradition/modernity—and disciplinary boundaries.

That Amna, an educated woman from a high-class family with economic independence who campaigned for women and against abuse was murdered by her husband reaffirms family violence's complex aetiologies. Zahara and Amna had, by virtue of their fathers' government employment as police chief

and head teacher respectively, the opportunity to receive a Dutch-language education. *Soenting Melajoe* writers were privileged by literacy. Yet, this status should not be regarded as a sole determinant of their lives or access to power. Zahara vehemently critiqued what she perceived as the patriarchal constitution of religious norms but remained ambivalent about a woman's ability to leave a coercive relationship. After Moetisah's rebuke, Jasinah mirrored her language of acceptable grief's focus on a soul's resting place but remained haunted by Aminah's violent death.

Trajectories of future activism, however, can be glimpsed in the *bangsa perempoean*'*s* memory work. We recognise seeds being sown in Jasinah's urge to tell *Soenting Melajoe*'s readers how Aminah died; and again in R.A.'s letter to *Asjraq* to both inform readers of the criminal act which killed Amna and hope that her visions for education and social reform would be shared by her surviving son. It is fitting that through acts of reading, we too cultivate this garden's memories and legacies.

If this death is remembered,	*Matinja itoe kalau dikenang,*
Tears fall;	*Air mata djatoeh berlinang;*
	—Jasinah, 1916
If thought about, remembered,	*Djika dipikir dikenang-kenang*
Tears fall.	*Air mata djatoeh berlinang.*
	—R.A., 1925

Notes

1 This chapter draws upon the Honours thesis 'Soenting Melajoe: Creating a Community of Activism and Cultural Strength through a Minangkabau Women's Newspaper (1912–1921)', University of Melbourne, 2018. Fieldwork was conducted with an Australian National University Indonesia Project Research Grant in January 2018. The author thanks colleagues at Universitas Andalas, Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol and Universitas Negeri Padang, as well as Ken Setiawan and Kate McGregor for their advice on translation.

2 '*Sja'ir seorang gadis mati tertembak*'. All original text for more complex quotes has been reproduced in the notes.

3 Cribb (2010), 'Indonesia' base map; issues 2–25 from 1912; 1–27 from 1913; 25–49 from 1915; 2–22 from 1916; 27–50 from 1918; 1–23 from 1919.

4 '*Karangan yang dioraikan oleh anak*^{2}*perempoean bangsa Melajoe* […] *dikeloearkan oleh drukkerij bangsa Melajoe. Sekarang baroe boleh koelihat, bagaimana kepintaran dan memadjoean anak*^{2} *perempuan bangsakoe Melajoe*'.

5 '*Kita perempoean sama sebangsa/ Setiap tahoen sepandjang masa*'.

6 '*Dithemoohkannja kita; disindirnja kita*'; '*akalnja baharoe sebagai akal anak*^{2}'.

7 '*Kita perempoean soedah ditakdirkan Allah mendjadi bangsa jang berhati moelia, menjadi bangsa iboe bangsa jang memberi soesoe*'.

8 '*Bangsa kita perempoean Hindia*'; '*menghisap madoe jang teriasi dari pada boenga boengaan jang haroem baoenja dengan terlaloe lezat dan manis rasanja*'.

9 '*De oude moederrechtelijke adat steeds meer terrain verliezen moet*'; '*men een driehokstrijd zou kinnen noemen, tusschen een volksadat, den Islam en modern-Westersche opvattingen. Het is niet doenlijk, scherpe scheidingslijnen te trekken*'.
10 '*Dan lagi hoekoem sjara*' atau '*adat tiada poela jang melarang orang bermadoe itoe tetapi wadjib atas silai*[2] *itoe menafakahi anak bininja itoe*'.
11 '*Marilah beramai memboeang adat yang tiada adil itu karena sekarang zaman peroebahan*'.
12 '*De polygamie, de groote losheid van den huwelijksband*'; '*verhinderen de normale ontikkeling van het gezin*'.
13 '*Zij pakte mijne hand met beide hare handen en zeide, dat zij liever met mij wilde medegaan*'.
14 '*boekan soeatoe* '*aib bagi kita perempoean AMK*'; '*lekaslah djoega bangsa kita masoek ke dalam golongan kemadjoean jang hamper selaloe tidak poetoes-poetoesnja mendjadi seboet seboetan bangsa kita*'.
15 '*Penoulis mendajwab apakah toehan kita, jang amat pengasih berkehendak kepada hambanja yang penjoesahkan akan sesama menoesia*?'
16 '*Seperti ditanah Alam Minang Kabau kita ini, boekan soedah ada djeoga jang terdjadi telah memboenoeh diri sendiri, chabarnja betoel oleh karena bermadoe. Boleh djadi, sebab seorang perempoean dia merasa dirinja dibawah dari jang l.l djadi baiklah mati sahadja dari pada menanggoeng fikiran jang amat sangat seperti telah digodah dijihin seriboe*'.
17 '*O, itoe atoeran adat bagi orang Islam, laki berkoeasa atas bini: Penoelis mendjawab pada hal manakah*? *Siapakah jang memboeat atoeran itoe*? *Laki-laki*! *Roeparoepanja si B hendak dibukin soesah oleh si L bagaimana kesoekaan si L. sahadja*'.
18 '*Tergantoeng atas koeasanja si bini*'.
19 '*Wahai perampoean bangsakoe di Alam Minang Kabau*! *Zaman moesin pabilakah atoeran jang adil akan datang atas kita perempoean*'.
20 '*Toelang kita lemah, tenaga koerang, terpandanglah oleh silaki*[2]'.
21 '*Dominasi patriarki terhadap perempuan yang terjadi di Minangkabau dibungkus dengan nilai-nilai adat yang mendudukkan posisi perempuan di tempat yang terhormat*'.
22 '*Sedangkan dalam kita menangis kematian poen dapat oleh kita perempoean dalam sekadjab itoe djoega menjoesoen perkataan oentoek boeah ratap*'.
23 '*Sekali ini Allah gerrakkan,/Boeroeng banjak Toehan lihatkan;/Seekor ta*' *boleh Ta*'*ala berikan/Meskipoen bedil banjak diletoeskan*'.
24 '*Angin jang sedjoek Allah memberi*'.
25 '*Karena boedjang itoe dalam kaoemnja*'.
26 '*Tawar dan do*'*a*' '*akan Aminah diselamatkan*'.
27 '*Majat tertidoer dihadapinja*'.
28 '*Djanganlah oenikoe terlaloe sangat berdoeka tjita melainkan marilah kita mendahkan tangan arah angkasa*'.
29 '*Mandiang Aminah kita poelangkan*'.
30 '*Memberi sangat beberbahaja pada sisakit, atau djoega seperti saudara*[2] *koe pembatja lebih djaoeh ma*'*loem*'.
31 '*Walaupoen soedah terang betoel, dalam ilmoe dokter dimana*[2] *kamar orang*[2] *sakit itoe t*'*ada boleh dimasoeki banjak orang*'; '*tjoema oentok melihat sementara sadja*'.
32 '*Adanya bahaja jang ditanggoengi oleh saudarakoe bangsa perempoean, selaloe menanggoeng perasaan jang ta*'*enak, di tambah lagi dari beratnja penjakit jang ada*'.
33 '*Laoetan Hindia jang amat loeasnja*'.
34 '*Didjalankannja pekerdjaan*[2] *itoe dengan sama rata hati*[2] '*ta*' *obah sebagai seorang iboe memiliharai anak*[2]*nya*'.
35 '*Apa moesti diperboeatnja, sebegitoe dapat perintah, sebegitoe diperboeatnja*'.
36 '*Sebab ia soenggoe mengharap pertolongan dokter*'.

37 Hesselink (2011) described women working as nurses in Javanese hospitals in the early twentieth century. Amna here refers to women *mandur* or doctors; '*Seorang laki*[2] *memeliharai seseorang perempoean sakit jang boekan miliknja sendiri*'.

38 '*Tidak pandai menjatakan apa*[2] *jang terkadang dimata dan terasa dihatinja masing*[2], *biarpoen sekali hal*[2] *itoe akan membawa binasa dirinja, tidalah dapat akan ditolakannja, selain dari menoenggoel sebagaimana ta*' *obah seperti seboeah patoeng*'.

39 '*Tidaklah dapat saja bitjarakan pandjang lebarnja dalam s.ch ini, jang memang tidak sedikit mengandoeng rahasia*! *O*! *Pendeknja saudara*[2]*koe ma*'*loem sendiri, boleh di kata perasaankoe jang ada pada ketika itoe hilang semoea sama selaki*'.

40 '*Di sini saja terpaksa meletakkan dahoeloe tangkai penakoe, oleh sebab apa*? *Ta*'*lain dari beberapa soesah hati djoega jang boekan sedikit masa ini, koetanggoengi setiap waktoe. Dengan hal begini matjam, djadilah menoelis ini, dengan terboeroe boeroe djoega*'.

41 '*Perempoean jang menandoeng tjita-tjita jang moelia ini, tida*' *lama mengetjap lazat boeah jang ditanamnja, karena dalam tahoen* 1923 *ia telah meninggalkan negeri jang fana, diboenoeh oleh soeminja sendiri*'.

42 '*Menebas meneroeka Djalan oentoe*' *Kemadjoean Kaoem Perempoean di tanah airnja*'; '*Selamatlah dihidoep jang akan datang*'.

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2 Living in a conflict zone

Gendered violence during the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies[1]

Katharine McGregor

When visiting the Dutch Resistance Museum in Amsterdam in late 2016, I discovered a small section of the museum, physically demarcated from the rest, devoted to the former colony of the Netherlands East Indies. Here, displays on the wartime experiences of Dutch people during the Japanese occupation (1942–45) featured enlarged photographs of women and children in internment camps, mirroring the emphasis on imprisonment in published memoirs of this period (Colijn 1996). Alongside these photographic exhibits, positioned within a display wall were pull-out wooden slots, which a visitor could hold momentarily to read more about women's experiences. Only here on these slots, which snapped back into the wall, could one glimpse the experiences of Dutch so-called 'comfort women', women subjected by the Japanese forces to enforced prostitution during the occupation. The fact that these experiences were hidden in a museum, despite a prominent transnational movement for redress for the former so-called 'comfort women', reminds us that histories of sexual violence are still sidelined in mainstream accounts of the past.[2]

It took until the 1980s and 1990s for the history of sexuality to be included in histories of war. A key reason for this was the enduring stigmatisation of all women who had sexual relationships of any kind with enemy soldiers during war, including both consensual relationships and women who were assaulted. The turning point for greater scholarly attention to wartime sexual violence was the early 1990s, when media accounts of such violence in the unfolding war in the former Yugoslavia and the Rwandan genocide prompted new questions for historians about how common an occurrence this had been in past wars and genocides (Heineman 2011). This led to new research on sexual violence committed by Soviet forces in Germany at the end of World War Two (Grossman 1995). In the same time period, research on the so-called 'comfort women' of the Japanese army began to escalate (Yoshimi 1992).

Research on sexual violence during the Japanese occupation of Asia during World War Two has, however, mostly focused on the case of forced prostitution of local women by the Japanese military, known by the controversial term 'comfort women' (Tanaka 2002; Yoshimi 1992). The term is controversial because of the suggestion that the women provided 'comfort' to the

soldiers in contrast to the view of many survivors that they were repeatedly raped and abused (O'Herne 1997). The generalised experience of a 'comfort woman' is understood to entail forced prostitution within a so-called comfort station, where a woman is held under guard and against her will for a period of time (Morris-Suzuki 2015). Sexual violence, however, is defined relatively broadly by the United Nations Human Rights Commission to include any sexual act including rape, sexual enslavement, forced prostitution, forced nudity, and other forms of sexual abuse (United Nations 2014). Furthermore, in comparison to research on Europe (Herzog 2011), there has been less scholarly attention to the broader issue of sexuality in Asian theatres of the war and especially consensual relationships between Japanese soldiers and women in occupied countries, with the exception of the work of Eveline Buchheim (2014).

The relatively late opening up of the histories of sexual violence in both the European and Asian theatres of World War Two was not the result of insufficient evidence (Timm 2017, pp. 353–354). In the case of the Netherlands East Indies, the Dutch kept records for the purposes of intelligence gathering both during and after the occupation. The records of the Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service (NEFIS), for example, held in the National Archives of the Netherlands in The Hague, include short testimonies and observations from former prisoners of the Japanese, local inhabitants, former forced labourers, and men who had worked in the Japanese police force or as auxiliary soldiers (*heiho*). There a small number of files in the General Office of the Dutch Indies government archives (*Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering en daarbij Gedeponeerde Archieven*) (1944–50) found in the National Archives in The Hague that include several records of forced prostitution. These files focus on documenting Japanese, Dutch and Indonesian persons who played a role in recruitment or control of related facilities and were compiled for the purpose of preparing for temporary court martials. The combined records were first used in the Dutch War Crimes Tribunals in 1948 for charging a select number of Japanese soldiers, mostly for crimes against Dutch women. They have also been used in reports written for the purposes of a 1993 Dutch government enquiry into this issue following the emergence of international advocacy for this case and an investigation sponsored by the Japanese organisation, the Asian Women's Fund (Poelgeest 1993; Yamamoto and Horton 1998).

In this chapter, I make more extensive use of these records to piece together what we know about sexual and gendered violence during the Japanese occupation. I use the term 'gendered violence' to refer to broader contexts of violence stemming from multiple forms of unequal relationships across the occupied society. Across both sets of archives, observations about Indonesian women are generally less detailed, including passing observations about seeing these women been transported on ships, hearing from them that they had been tricked with promises of other jobs, or even the records of the number of women held in one facility. The individual testimony of these women is almost never recorded. One reason for this is that the Dutch were

primarily concerned with documenting crimes against Dutch people (Eurasians included). The marginal position of Indonesian women within these records means that we need to think critically about what these sources might reveal and how we might overcome the limitations of colonial archives while still working with them. Indeed, a core debate in post-colonial scholarship flagged by Kirsty Reid and Fiona Paisley concerns 'the extent to which the "subaltern" (meaning variously colonised, oppressed or exploited) voices can be heard in the archive and what these traces might mean for our approaches and methods' (2017, p. 3). Despite their limitations, I argue that these records can still shed light on the experiences of Indonesian and Dutch women.

This chapter uses sources from both these Dutch archives compiled during and just after the Second World War and the first Indonesian press reports from the 1990s on women's experiences of sexual violence and sexual relationships with Japanese men. Specifically, I reflect on the challenges each historical source bears in relation to the particular time at which these accounts were collected. This includes the expectations of the interviewers, dominant social codes, and the purposes for which persons compiling records or reports were collecting information. Drawing upon broader literature on sexual violence in the context of war, I unpack the difficulties historians have in peeling back judgements and latter-day framings of women's experiences to understand how women viewed diverse experiences during the war—including experiences of forced prostitution, rape, forced marriage—as well as relationships that involved at least some negotiation under conditions of predation and highly unequal relations of power. I focus on how sexual violence and sexual relationships have been narrated at different times by different people. I reflect on the ethical questions raised by attempts to label women's experiences and award them agency, while at the same time, acknowledging the conditions of predation during a period of military occupation. In considering the conditions of the occupation, I am mindful of Annette Timm's (2017, p. 363) observations that 'war dramatically complicates the boundary between truly consensual and violent, forced, coerced, or in some way publicly shameful sexual relationships'. At the same time, though, I pay attention to how women's generally lower position in society underpinned sexual violence and contributed to the other forms of gendered violence and coercion behind that violence.

The system of enforced military prostitution and power relations in Japanese-occupied Netherlands East Indies

The system of enforced military prostitution is rooted in the history of Japanese imperialism and state-endorsed prostitution. Long before the creation of Japan's formal and informal empire, Japanese entrepreneurs established brothels throughout Asia in which Japanese women, known by the term *karayuki-san*, worked (Mihalopoulus 2011). The Japanese government established a licensed prostitution system in Japan in the late nineteenth century, and this

system was replicated in its colonies following, for example, the annexation of Korea in 1910 (Soh 2008, pp. 9–10). Many patterns from this system of procuring young poor women, by means of coercing families and moving them far from home, were replicated in the military system of enforced prostitution. The military first used the system in China in the 1930s. During the Second World War, women from occupied China, Korea, the Philippines, Malaya, Portuguese Timor and the Netherlands East Indies were detained by the military for the purposes of serving soldiers. The stated reasons for the system were to protect local women from abuse, to protect soldiers from venereal disease, and to provide the soldiers with reprise from the battlefront.

There have been several studies of the system in the Netherlands East Indies (Hartono and Juliantoro 1997; Horton 2010; Janssen 2010; Mariana 2015; Tanaka 2002). We know that women were held or forced to work in different facilities, including 'movie theatres, bars, restaurants, hotels and comfort stations' across army- and navy-controlled areas (Horton 2010, pp. 186–196). They were held under circumstances of highly curtailed freedom, in terms of their ability to leave, and constant exposure to sexual abuse including rape. The Japanese initially procured Indonesian sex workers. Women were often tricked into forced prostitution with promises of becoming performers, getting an education or training as nurses in distant locations (Horton 2010, p. 185). Some were sent to far-off islands or even to other countries based on these promises, only to find themselves working in brothels.

It is difficult to estimate the precise number of 'comfort women' across all Japanese occupied territories given the fact that many women died or were killed at the conclusion of the war. Estimates range from 20,000 to 200,000 women, the majority of whom are believed to have been Korean (Soh 2008, p. 23). Figures for the specific number of Indonesian women are similarly imprecise. One advocacy organisation estimated, based on the number of men each woman served and the number of soldiers in the colony, that 22,454 women would have experienced sexual violence at the hands of the Japanese military and civilians (Forum Komunikasi Ex-Heiho 1996, pp. 72–74). Meanwhile, in 1993, the Dutch government estimated in an official report that 200–300 Dutch and Eurasian women were 'recruited' into the system (Poelgeest 1993, p. 2). There were thus a great many more Indonesian than Dutch women involved, although the figure for Indonesian women included cases of women sexually abused, but not necessarily held in 'comfort stations'.

The existence of Dutch archival records and some latter-day testimonies from survivors means that in the case of the Netherlands East Indies, it is possible to compile at least an overview of patterns in sexual violence during the occupation. Yet due to the partial nature of these sources, we need to pay attention to several factors. One factor is the diversity of women's experience and the difficulties that Tessa Morris-Suzuki has highlighted (2015) in making any generalisations about women subjected to enforced military prostitution. The second factor is the specific conditions of the occupation. On this note, Yonson Ahn's work on colonial Korea reminds us to pay attention to 'the

power dynamics that existed within the colonial ruler's web of gendered and racialized hierarchies' (2018, p. 3). Before turning to records of this past and the diversity of women's experiences, let us then reflect on the specific historical and cultural context of power dynamics between men and women and across 'racial' categories in the former Dutch colony.

In Dutch colonial society prior to the Japanese occupation, the Dutch classified residents under three hierarchical categories: European, native and foreign oriental. Being Dutch was technically determined by whether or not a person had a Dutch father and was born of a legal union (Bosma and Raben 2008, p. xvii). The legal category 'European' thus included Eurasian children, who resulted from relationships between Dutch men and local women. From their arrival in 1942, the Japanese sought to completely reverse Dutch colonial hierarchies by placing persons of Dutch background or Dutch allegiance at the lowest level of the social hierarchy in line with their anti-Western ideology. Dutch men who had worked for the colonial bureaucracy or military were imprisoned in prisoner of war camps from 1942 onwards (Kemperman 2010, pp. 165–166). Other persons were detained in internment camps. Men were interned first, followed by women, children and the elderly. People with so-called 'pure' Dutch descent were imprisoned, whereas most Eurasians were not due to cautious assumptions about their potential loyalty to the Japanese, as persons who could also be considered 'Asian' (Heidebrink 2009, pp. 336–340). There were approximately 100,000 Dutch people interned. Persons who were imprisoned had significantly diminished power because they had few ways to control the conditions in which they lived except through negotiation.

Indonesian men, and ostensibly women, were placed above Dutch people on the basis of an alleged pact of Asian solidarity against Westerners symbolised by the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Duus 1996, p. xxii). The Japanese destroyed symbols of Dutch status and power, and promised Indonesian leaders support in moving towards independence if they co-operated. The elevated status of Indonesians, however, operated perhaps only at the most elite levels of society. Throughout the occupation, it became increasingly clear that the Japanese occupying forces viewed all Indonesians as resources that could support the war effort (Principles Governing the Administration of Occupied Southern Areas 1941).

Men in the Japanese occupying forces frequently used violence or the threat of violence, including sexual violence, against both Indonesian and Dutch people. The circumstances of the occupation in which the Japanese ruled over the colony, combined with the fact they were fighting a larger war, provide context for this violence. As Elizabeth Heineman has observed, the context of conflict zones 'diminishes sensitivity to human suffering, intensifies men's sense of superiority, and gives social licence to rape' (Heineman 2011, pp. 2–3). Due to the threat of the use of force by Japanese soldiers, men and women faced pressure to obey soldiers' commands (Sato 2010, p. 199). It was in this context that women often faced severe violence from soldiers, from beatings to death, if they resisted sexual advances (Janssen 2010, pp. 58–59). Civilian

Japanese men who worked in the colony as, for example, journalists and colonial administrators, also held power over locals because of the fact that they could call on the military to enforce their will and because they were part of an occupying force.

Within the family structure, Dutch women were usually designated the roles of wife and mother and had control only over certain aspects of the household, including Indonesian domestic workers (Locher-Scholten 2000). Indonesian women generally had less power than Indonesian men, but social class, at least in the pre-war period, also determined a woman's access to education and opportunities (Locher-Scholten 2000). Having a husband or father around sometimes gave Dutch, Eurasian and Indonesian women more protection from abuse from soldiers, but not always. Internment or forced labour meant many husbands and fathers were absent from homes. Widows were also vulnerable. Young women and girls were the most vulnerable because the Japanese army considered them less likely to have venereal diseases and because they were seen to be more attractive. Furthermore, within the family, daughters had less power than sons or mothers. Patriarchal values and traditions of respect for elders and those of higher social status also meant that daughters and young women were more likely to obey fathers or local officials who were coerced to hand over young women (Hartono and Juliantoro 1995, p. 61).

In order to reflect the complex dynamics of power across this occupied society, I use the term 'gendered violence' to broaden our understanding of multiple forms of violence during the occupation beyond the more exclusive category of 'comfort women'. The term gendered violence allows us to consider multiple forms of violence. This includes the most common cases of sexual violence committed by men against women, as well as other kinds of violence such as extreme coercion applied by women on other women, or men on women across relations of unequal power.

Women's experiences and archival sources

Despite the far greater number of Indonesian women caught up in the system, Dutch archival sources provide more detail about the experiences of Dutch women. Like any archive sources, these are not neutral accounts of the past. Because of prevailing ideas around morality at this time, information on the sexual violence or relationships is generally found under the subheadings 'unethical practices' and 'prostitution'. There is close attention to whether or not women were 'voluntary' or forced into sex work, and whether the women were 'decent' or so-called 'public' women. The bases for making these judgements were often second-hand reports or moral judgements.

Despite the problems of these kinds of categorisations of women, and the fact that the archives do not offer extensive testimonies in women's words, the range of examples of women's experiences provide a broader picture of gendered and sexual violence during the occupation. These include experiences of

kidnapping and rape, women working in bars and cafes subjected to sexual violence, sexual abuse within camps, and women in coerced or seemingly more consensual live-in relationships. Consistent with the requirements for use of some files in both the National Archives of the Netherlands and NIOD, the names of persons will not be used.

Accounts of kidnapping, rape and detention

The archives include frequent reporting of routine kidnapping and the short-term detention of women for sex. A farmer in Sorpong, Western New Guinea, testified that local women were often caught and kept for a night, much to the resentment of the local population.[3] The conditions of the occupation here, including the fact the soldiers were armed and could use threats of death against locals, made such practices possible. There were reports of women frequently being attacked by Japanese soldiers at night if they were out on the streets in Surabaya, East Java, highlighting a sense of women's vulnerability.[4] In Kaloran, Central Java, and Kertosono, East Java, there are similar accounts provided late in the occupation of Japanese men taking women they liked to their barracks and returning them the next day.[5] At Air Madidi, near Menado in Sulawesi (known at the time as Celebes), a village head's 14-year-old daughter was taken away by the Japanese for five days and then sent back with five guilders, unable to walk and seriously ill.[6] Although the archives include records of these experiences, they are not frequently evoked in discussions of the overall system of the comfort women, which usually included longer periods of abuse.

There is, however, repeated second-hand reporting in the archives, often from ship hands, of Indonesian women being moved around the colony by the Japanese army or navy via ship to be taken to so-called 'comfort stations' on the outer islands, such as Halmahera (in Maluku), Ambon and Biak islands.[7] In these accounts, we learn that many women were tricked into passage with promises of other jobs. It is not possible to trace what happened to these individual women as they are almost never named, but there are also frequent mentions of places of detention and of women being subjected to sexual slavery on the outer islands. Latter-day testimonies from a small number of Indonesian women who publicly disclosed their fates provide far more detail on their experiences (Hindra and Kimura 2007).

The archives reveal instances of women who allegedly had prior sexual relationships with Japanese men being targeted for forced recruitment. In Pontianak, for example, the Japanese naval police took women who were identified as 'having had relations with Japanese men' and placed them in a brothel that they could not leave.[8] In some cases, this seemed to be a measure to avoid other kinds of ongoing relationships between Dutch or Indonesian women and Japanese soldiers.

There is also evidence that women were targeted by the Japanese army as revenge for men resisting the Japanese. In Korido village in Papua, a man

who spoke out in support of the Dutch was beheaded after being forced to dig his own grave.[9] His wife was subsequently forced to live with a pro-Japanese man from Papua before being moved to a hospital where she was forcibly kept with other widows. This woman was at first forced to live with, and presumably have sex with, a local man, suggesting some complicity of locals in sexual violence. This account opens up more of the complexity of the conditions of war and occupation and what Primo Levi (1988) terms 'grey zones', when alluding to the complexities of Jewish persons' behaviour during the Holocaust. The hospital where the woman was then taken was known locally as 'the Japanese Squaw Camp' and functioned as a site of sexual slavery which soldiers frequently visited.[10] In this case, it seems that the widows of persons who rebelled against the Japanese were potential targets of sexual violence.

Accounts of women working in bars and hotels

There are also accounts of Dutch and Eurasian women working in Japanese army-run facilities such as bars or hotels. William Horton (2010) notes that in practice, this usually meant that there were expectations of sexual service. In the pre-war period, bars and hotels were sites for sex work, but I argue that during the occupation, the power relations between clients and women would have changed. Whereas in the pre-war period women could presumably negotiate a sexual contract with payment depending on the expectations of their employees, during the occupation Japanese soldiers were much more powerful in relation to the women because refusing them could lead to beatings or death. There are frequent accounts of women resisting sexual violence being beaten or killed. Working in bars and hotels during the occupation therefore carried a greater risk of sexual violence.

Women were recruited to bar and hotel work from amongst sex workers and through advertisements. The records highlight a range of different scenarios for the recruitment of Dutch or Eurasian women who were not yet detained in camps. In Bandung, as the Japanese grouped women together in preparation for internment, they approached some women with the choice of prostitution or internment (Poelgeest 1993, p. 14). We know that most women faced increasingly difficult economic circumstances as the occupation progressed, which led them to look for any kind of work. Some women subsequently took up bar or hotel work. In these contexts, it was not always Japanese men recruiting such women to work in these facilities. The archives again indicate other forms of local complicity. There is a recorded account of a Dutch woman in Salatiga who encouraged her daughters to take up bar work to improve their collective circumstances. She tried to convince another Dutch woman to give up her daughters.[11] This suggests that there were other forms of gendered violence or coercion within families under difficult conditions.

Later in the occupation, from 1943 to 1944, there was forced recruitment of women from internment camps for different kinds of sex work, including

work in comfort stations and bars and hotels (Poelgeest 1993, p. 14). Attempts were made during this period to take women from camps in Bandung, Magelang and Semarang. In Padang between June 1942 and December 1943, there were repeated attempts by Japanese officers in charge of internment camp to persuade women aged 18 to 25 to work in the canteens and tea houses as barmaids.[12] Strict conditions for recruitment were negotiated with a Dutch friar and women in the camp, including alleged respect for 'free will' and consent from parents where the girls were minors. The conditions included the proviso that if a woman volunteered then her parents, brothers and sisters would be freed from internment. In October 1942, two women consented and were taken to Fort de Kock to work in the club, De Eendracht.[13] It is unclear if their families were released, but the women's cooperation raises issues about the nature of consent and potential family coercion behind this. This incident again sheds new light on different forms of gendered violence, which included pressure on young women to help save their families.

Discerning the extent to which women genuinely 'volunteered' to participate in sex work or knew what they were volunteering for is contentious. Living conditions in the camps grew progressively worse with less and less food, clothing and medicine and declining sanitation (Kemperman 2010, p. 167). Under such difficult conditions, the Japanese tried to lure women in internment into prostitution sometimes with promises of jobs such as barmaids (Tanaka 2002, pp. 68–69). Other women were taken from the camps against their will, with no knowledge of what they were going to be doing. The two most prominent Dutch survivor activists, Ellen van der Ploeg and Jan Ruff-O'Herne, were forcibly taken from Halmaheira and Ambarawa camps respectively (Goos 1995; O'Herne 1997). One of the significant factors is that most women were not free to leave these places of work and they could therefore be considered to be held under conditions of detention.

Accounts of abuse within camps of women, boys and girls

Internment camps were also sites of potential sexual abuse inflicted by camp guards. There are reports of rapes of women inside the camps, such as one case of the rape of two women in a camp in Endeh (Flores) in May and June 1942.[14] Dutch archives also record cases of sexual violence by camp guards against boys and girls. Boys over the age of 10 were often separated from their mothers and moved to men's camps where their fathers may not necessarily have been held, thereby exposing them to greater risk of abuse due to the lack of parental protection (Redde and Onderdenwijngaard 1984). One record details a case in Adek Camp in Batavia of young boys being forced to perform dances and kiss each other for a Japanese guard.[15] Another record indicates that in Bangkong Camp in Semarang boys were maltreated by two Japanese officials including being forced by one into what are described as 'lewd actions in the bathroom'.[16] In an internment camp in West Sumatra, NEFIS reports record mention of a Japanese Heiho commander who 'enticed

in a very wrong way young boys towards him' in addition to efforts to groom young girls in the camp.[17]

Four cases of sexual violence against boys inside and outside internment camps in the Netherlands East Indies were reported by survivors under conditions of anonymity in the 1990s as part of the compensation scheme run by the Dutch Project Implementation Committee (PICN), supported by the Japanese-based Asian Women's Fund (Hamer-Monod de Froideville 2013, pp. 110–111). Women and girls remain by far the most targeted groups for sexual violence during wars and occupations, yet sexual violence against men and boys in wartime contexts has been documented in many historical and contemporary conflicts. Here, there is an even greater degree of under-reporting due to shame surrounding the experience and negative attitudes towards sexual contact between men (Touquet and Gorris 2016, p. 37). Despite the prevalent image of women held in 'comfort stations', sexual abuse was therefore much more widespread and included shorter term kidnapping of women, abuse in places of work and in internment camps. It also included reported cases of abuse of Indonesian, Eurasian and Dutch girls and women, and Dutch boys.

Accounts of women in 'live-in' relationships

The practice of soldiers during occupations forcibly taking local women to live with them and provide both free manual labour and sexual service to their captors is common across multiple conflicts in modern history (Loney 2018; Pohlman 2015; Protschky, Chapter 3 this volume). This kind of domestic servitude and forced marriage is included by the 1998 UN Special Rapporteur as another form of sexual slavery (United Nations 1998). There is occasional mention in the Dutch archives of Indonesian women forced to live with Japanese men. This was referred to by the Japanese as '*siang baboe, malam nyonya*' (day-time maids, night-time wives).[18] There is greater attention, however, to Dutch or Eurasian women in such relationships. A handful of free non-interned women testified that they were forced into live-in relationships with Japanese men. A woman with a Dutch surname, for example, records that in 1942 the military police began to detain young girls from villages near Bondowoso and Banyuwangi in East Java and place them in brothels. Some of these women were also forced to become wives.[19] A Dutch woman working as a typist for the Japanese air force testified that from November 1944 she was forced to 'take up with' a Japanese police officer and had a baby as a result.[20] A Eurasian woman in Makassar, Sulawesi was also forced to live with a Japanese company man after her father was severely beaten when she first refused to do so.[21] She testified that she was repeatedly raped by this man and treated poorly. In Malang, another Eurasian woman of 18 years of age accused of resistance was 'severely maltreated' for refusing to marry a Japanese officer.[22] These last two accounts highlight the extreme coercion which could precede forced 'marriages'.

Some accounts in the archives suggest that occasionally women 'chose' to live in relationships or provide sexual services from their homes to avoid either detention in internment camps, to escape other forms of sexual abuse by many men such as that which occurred in so called comfort stations or hotels or bars, or to improve their material conditions. Here we need to reflect on the relative meaning of choice. Amongst women who became live-in 'wives' of Japanese soldiers were mothers, whose Dutch husbands had already been detained. Japanese officials sometimes offered Dutch women the chance to live with a Japanese man to escape internment.[23] Other women were given the choice of working in a hotel (with the expectation of sex work) or living with one Japanese man.[24] Some women moved out of club or bar work into such relationships again presumably because of better conditions, including the fact they would only have to have sexual relations with one Japanese man.[25] One Dutch woman, for example, worked at the Sakura Bar and then Hotel Bristol in Surabaya to provide for her family. She accepted the offer from a Japanese economist to live with him and quit her work if he provided for her and her children.[26] In this case, a Japanese civilian had more power than a Dutch woman due to his access to better resources.

The NEFIS intelligence archives document, often with a strong tone of moral condemnation, either first or second-hand accounts of Dutch or Eurasian women who had sex with Japanese men and especially women who allowed officers to visit their residences.[27] The first-hand accounts take the form of confessions by women who did this. Second-hand accounts are taken from persons informing on other women, with possible consequences for these women in terms of post-war migration choices. Women deemed to have collaborated with the Japanese, for example, may have had their assets seized and been arrested (Buchheim 2014, p. 134).

In archival material, these women are described by a range of extremely derogatory terms, such as 'Nippon whore', women of 'bad reputation', 'loose morals' and 'perverted'.[28] Here the central critique is that women have 'given' their sexuality to the enemy. This language is consistent with that used to describe women in other wartime contexts and indeed Dutch women in the metropole of the Netherlands who had relationships with German soldiers during the German occupation of the Netherlands. In her research into this topic, Monika Dierderichs (2005, p. 151) notes that these women were frequently described by the term *moffenhoeren*, a derogatory term which connects 'dislike of the enemy' (*mof* is a derogatory term for Germans) with prostitution (*hoer* means 'whore').

Despite the general tone of condemnation in records concerning the occupation of the Netherlands East Indies, some testimonies reveal that women occasionally chose to enter such relationships because of the possibility of better provisions for themselves and/or their children.[29] Again here these decisions were shaped by the increasingly trying conditions of the occupation, including diminishing availability of food and basic supplies as the war progressed. It is difficult to discern the extent of choice women really had.

Persons reporting on other persons may have exaggerated the degree of freedom women exercised. Given prevalent moral codes some women would also have reasons to emphasise coercion, yet the general conditions of the occupation by themselves also created a context where women had fewer choices. Writing about women in the Holocaust, Kristy Chatwood (2010, p. 7) attempts to capture several dimensions of this kind of 'sex for survival', arguing it should still be considered sexual violence because 'women would not have had to participate if they were not in situations that made them vulnerable to predation'. Chatwood therefore suggests we need to view the women simultaneously as victims and resisters.

In her work on sexuality in wartime, Annette Timm (2017) argues that war produces a greater spectrum of sexual relationships. Taking this into account, what is missing in the archives are women's accounts of romantic relationships between Dutch women and Japanese men. Occasionally the term 'lover' is used by others to describe Japanese men that women had attachments to and there are some mentions of children resulting from relationships, but the framing within the archival records emphasises the treasonous positions of women in such relationships. The main concern for Dutch intelligence-gathering purposes in the colony was that if there was a relationship, this could also potentially lead to espionage. The focus of these records was therefore to identify Dutch traitors.[30] The positioning of women who had sexual relations with the Japanese as traitors replicates patterns across other wartime contexts. The logic went that they had betrayed their country because they had allegedly 'given' their bodies to the enemy. Although there are still barriers to full disclosures of love-based relationships during the occupation, in recent years oral history accounts have revealed evidence of such cases. Drawing on interviews from a major Dutch oral history project on which she worked, historian Eveline Buchheim (2008) has uncovered testimonies of more complex sexual relationships between Dutch women and Japanese men and examples of Dutch women describing love-based relationships with Japanese soldiers.[31]

Thus far, I have focused on the experiences of Dutch and Eurasian women because these women's experiences are emphasised in the archives. I have reflected on how the context of wartime and immediate post-war reporting influenced these records and the way in which the women's stories were framed. I have outlined diverse forms of gendered violence during the occupation. I will now turn the clock forward to examine how Indonesian women narrated experiences of the occupation and extend the discussion here to the problems of labelling women's experiences.

Accounts of women's experiences in Indonesian newspaper reporting from the 1990s

In the early 1990s, as the global 'comfort women' movement was escalating, journalists from one of the leading journals in Indonesia, *Tempo*, reported both on the evolving movement including the case of the famous Korean

survivor, Kim Hak Sun, and on Indonesian experiences (25 January and 25 July 1992). Despite the efforts of Indonesian journalists to seek out the stories of 'comfort women', some women recalled more complicated stories of relationships with Japanese soldiers beyond places of detention. There are several troubling aspects of this early reporting. In effect Indonesian journalists went out and tracked down these women to expose their stories to the Indonesian public (*Tempo*, 8 August 1992). Many women feared being identified in these interviews and did not want to provide their names. This was most likely due to the ongoing stigma attached to their experiences. Survivors of the system were frequently scorned in their local communities for being 'Japanese castaways' (Hindra and Kimura 2007). There were accounts here of sexual abuse by soldiers, but there were also more complicated stories. The fact that these accounts were generally longer than the accounts taken during and just after the war in Dutch records allows us to gain greater insights into the complexity of women's experiences.

One article entitled 'Screams from the Bamboo Hut' features the story of a woman from Bangka Island, known during the war by the Japanese name Fumiko, who did not want to give her real name (*Tempo*, 8 August, 1992, pp. 52–53). She was kept in a house with 13 women and worked as a waitress for the Japanese army. During that time, soldiers pressed her to provide sexual favours and provided gifts in return. She came to work there after her neighbours reported she was not married, but widowed. The Japanese promised she would be married and sent to Tokyo, and in return they would look after her parents. She recalled that her family had difficulties getting enough food and they were at that stage wearing clothes made from itchy hessian sacks. The journalist comments that in this situation, neither she nor her family had much choice. This story reveals certain assumptions about young widows at the time of the occupation, including the enduring view that they were sexually available because they were single, but had been sexually active (Parker 2016, pp. 7–8). It also reveals assumptions about daughters and the expectation that they would sacrifice themselves. The article ends by noting that one day, a soldier took the woman home to live with him until the end of the war. The soldier is described by the journalist as *kekasihnya* (the woman's loved one). The journalist comments that this story is possibly 'not that convincing', on the presumed basis that readers expect a certain kind of story of a 'comfort woman' (*Tempo*, 8 August, 1992, p. 53). The article implies that because she ended up as a soldier's temporary wife, her experience is somehow less exemplary.

In another report entitled 'They Had No Choice', a woman from Solo shared her story (*Tempo*, 8 August, 1992, pp. 62–63). This woman did not want to give her name because she was ashamed her neighbours might find out.[32] When the Japanese came in 1942, she was 16 and living with her father and five siblings. Her mother had died when she was small. Her father, who was fighting with the Dutch, was killed so the family had to fend for themselves. She was offered work in a Japanese restaurant and it was there she met

a soldier who was 25 years old. As the story unfolds, the journalist lapses into voyeuristic and detailed descriptions of the attractiveness of both the woman and the soldier. The journalist describes the soldier's sexual overtures to the woman, providing a detailed sexualised account of the first time the woman was assaulted.

The woman recalled that she went on dates with the soldier and lived with him, eventually becoming pregnant. She described the relationship also as pleasurable, stating 'he needed entertainment. I entertained him. He enjoyed it, I enjoyed it' (*Tempo*, 8 August 1992, p. 6). How are we to understand this description of a relationship which seemingly began as one based on sexual assault? Thinking about the relationships between some so-called 'comfort women' and soldiers, Ahn (2018, p. 10) has referred to a process of traumatic bonding, which she defines as 'ties of interdependence in the face of emotional crisis and trauma'. She uses this term to allude to the process of seeking affection during war wherever it can be found, including within abusive relationships. This could be one explanation for the way the woman frames her experiences. Yet her story is more complicated than this.

At the end of the interview, the woman disclosed that she had a child with the soldier, but he was called to fight before the baby was born. She declared: 'I was not a prostitute. Only [he] had relations with me. We loved each other' (*Tempo*, 8 August 1992, p. 62). What is noticeable here is the woman's framing of the relationship as a love-based relationship and her clear rejection of the label 'prostitute'. In 1990s Indonesia, the term 'prostitute' had strong moral condemnation attached to it, thus making her rejection of this label understandable. Her emphasis on a love-based relationship may also be underpinned by the fact that a child resulted from the relationship. For children being the result of a love-based relationships rather than from sexual abuse is much more acceptable (see Buchheim 2008; Dragojlovic 2011). This narrative framing, however, noticeably parallels the framing used by many soldiers to describe their relationships with so-called comfort women (see McGregor 2016b) and exonerates soldiers from any wrongdoing.

There are other possible motives at work, however, for this framing. Writing about rape, love and war, Kjersti Ericsson (2010, pp. 79–80) observes that by emphasising a love-based relationship, women who have had relationships with enemy soldiers may be able to escape some of the stigma associated with their experiences. An emphasis on true love is a way to provide a more socially acceptable narrative of a wartime liaison. Ericsson's explanation leads us to reflect on the social context in which the account is narrated, yet it does not really address the issue of how a scholar can negotiate such labelling. Here, Yonson Ahn's work is again useful. Ahn insists that women's experiences 'cannot be understood within a rigid binary of victim and agent', because women still attempted where possible to negotiate their positions through interactions with soldiers (2018, p. 11) Writing about the Holocaust, Anna Hajkova (2013, p. 503) similarly observed that women engaging in sex for survival did not preclude love-based relationships. These observations

remind us of the diversity of women's experiences, the possibility of the movement between different kinds of abusive relationships, the mixed emotions associated with these experiences, and that simplistically categorising women's experiences reduces the complexity of their situations and experiences.

Conclusions

Sexual and gendered violence remains marginalised in mainstream histories of war, yet research on this topic has begun to open up new perspectives on gender relations during wars. Across both wartime sources and interviews long after the war, there are, however, challenges in representing the range of experiences of women and others who were subjected to sexual violence. These challenges result from the stigmas associated with sexual violence against both women and men, and also the stigmas attached to women who had consensual relationships with enemy soldiers. In this chapter, I have presented some of the difficulties historians face in assessing how women viewed experiences of forced prostitution, rape, forced marriage, as well as relationships based on at least some degree of agency.

Through an analysis of archival records and journalistic accounts, I have pointed to other forms of gendered violence during the occupation, such as violence or coercion applied to women and sexual violence against boys. In this sense, the concept of gendered violence is useful if we are alert to, and also interrogate, multiple forms of violence, including not just man-on-woman, but also woman-on-woman and man-on-man violence or gendered forms of coercion within families. The term helps to broaden our understanding of multiple forms of violence during the occupation. It is potentially also more useful than a narrow focus on the category so-called 'comfort women', which has many specific connotations associated with ongoing detention for repeated sexual abuse by many men. In order to more fully reflect the diversity of women's experiences during wars and occupation then, we need to think critically about the categories of analysis that we as scholars use and apply to women's experiences and to try capture more of the complexity of their lived experiences.

Notes

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2 There are, however, several museums devoted exclusively to remembering the comfort women such as The Women's Active Museum in Tokyo. See Watanabe (2015).

3 National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague [hereafter: Nl-HaNA], Netherland Forces Intelligence Service [NEFIS] en Centrale Militaire Inlichtingendienst [CMI] in Nederlands-Indië [hereafter: NEFIS/CMI], 2.10.62, inventory number 44, 'Interrogation report of Two Natives from Waigeo Captured R. N.N. Submarine on 24 April 1944, 8 May 1944'.
4 Nl-HaNA, NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 44, 'Report on the Interrogation of 55 Javanese, 25 May 1944'.
5 Nl-HaNA, NEFIS/CMI 2.10.62, inv. no. 44, 'Detailed Report to Interrogation Report of 32 Javanese captured at Korako and Aitape, 3 July 1944'.
6 Nl-HaNA, NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 48, 'Interrogation Report No 184 (Part III) 18 October 1944'.
7 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 44, 'Report on the Interrogation of two native sailors, escapees from Timika (South New Guinea), 21 February 1944'; 'Interrogation report of a fireman at Biak, 1 July 1944'; 'Interrogation Report of PW no. 100095, 16 July 1944'.
8 Nl-HaNA, Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering en daarbij gedeponeerde archieven (1942) 1944–1950, 2.10.14, inv. no. 5307, 'Extracts from Interrogation reports from Japanese War Criminals at Pontianak' and inv. no. 5309, 'Report on enforced prostitution in Western Borneo, N.E.I. during Japanese Naval Occupation. Batavia, 5 July 1946'.
9 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. nos. 2000 and 2001, interrogation reports dated 26 October 1944.
10 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI 2.10.62, inv. nos. 2000 and 2001, ibid.
11 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 2388, interrogation report dated 19 March 1946.
12 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 1971, investigation summary dated 24 January 1946.
13 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 1971, ibid.
14 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 1950, interrogation report dated 7 December 1945.
15 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 1951, investigation summary dated 12 March 1946.
16 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 2389, interrogation report dated 12 March 1946.
17 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62. inv.no. 1977, 'Translation of the official report on the women interned in Sumatra West Coast', Chapter 12.
18 Nl-HaNA, NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 48, 'Interrogation Reports No 184 (Part III),' 18 October 1944.
19 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 2443, interrogation report dated 8 August 1947; Nl-HaNA, Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service [hereafter NEFIS], 2.10.37.02, inv. no. 6, interrogation report Bandung dated 3 November 1945.
20 Nl-HaNA NEFIS, 2.10.37.02, inv. no. 8, BAS/5554, declaration, Purworejo.
21 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62 inv. no. 1966, interrogation report dated 11 May 1946.
22 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 1952, interrogation report dated 17 March 1946.
23 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 1961, declaration, Makassar, dated 19 March 1946.
24 Nl-HaNA NEFIS, 2.10.37.02, inv. no. 1, interrogation reports Bandung, May–July 1947.
25 Nl-HaNA NEFIS, 2.10.37.02, inv. no. 1, ibid. and inv. no. 14, interrogation report Bandung, 22 May 1947.
26 Nl-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv. no. 2443, interrogation dated 4 August 1947.

27 Nl-HaNA NEFIS, 2.10.37.02, inv. no. 3, declaration Surabaya; no. 4, declaration Bandung 31 October 1946; no. 8, declarations 16 August 1946.
28 Nl-HaNA NEFIS, 2.10.37.02, inv. no. 3, ibid.; inv. no. 8, report Bandung 31 October 1947; inv. no. 13, report Magelang, 14 September 1946.
29 Nl-HaNA NEFIS, 2.10.37.02, inv. no. 21, 'Rapport Kandy Nr. 2 dl 2', interrogation report 21 March 1946.
30 On the search for traitors and collaborators more broadly see Cribb (2011).
31 Buchheim (2008) estimates that between 800 and 8000 children were born from these cross-cultural relationships.
32 For a more detailed discussion of shame around this issue, see McGregor (2016a).

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3 Home at the front

Violence against Indonesian women and children in Dutch military barracks during the Indonesian National Revolution[1]

Susie Protschky

Photographs of atrocities committed by Dutch soldiers against Indonesian civilians and combatants during the Indonesian War of Independence (1945–49) have recently gained international prominence. They have been employed as supporting evidence that the Dutch use of extreme violence in this conflict was structural and systematic (Kok, Somers and Zweers 2015; Limpach 2016; Luttikhuis and Moses 2014; Oostindie, Hoogenboom and Verwey 2015). Yet how photography from this war represented forms of violence against Indonesian women and children has received no sustained attention.

Archives in the Netherlands today hold a large and growing number of photograph collections and related biographical documents produced by the soldiers deployed in the Dutch counterinsurgency in Indonesia. They exist in significant numbers not only because camera and film technologies were advanced enough by the late 1940s for ordinary soldiers to take amateur photographs during wartime, but also because the Dutch Military Welfare Service (*Dienst Welzijnsverzorging*) issued blank albums to encourage soldiers' correspondence with the Dutch home front (Kok, Somers and Zweers 2015, p. 144).[2] Dutch soldiers' amateur photographs mirrored contemporary, official narratives of the Dutch war effort, as seen in the published photographs made by press photographers covering the conflict, many of whom were 'embedded' with the military and had their works approved by military agencies before they were released to a global press (Zweers 2013, pp. 236–267). These photographs also drew upon longer historical conventions, in photography and official colonial discourse, of characterising Dutch imperialism as a benevolent force for Indonesian welfare in the early twentieth century (Protschky 2018).

This chapter contends that Dutch soldiers' amateur photographs constitute partial yet valuable sources on the experience of Indonesian women and children who worked as barracks servants. Their domestic labours were provided in a context of militarised violence and built on colonial class and racial hierarchies developed in civilian as well as wartime practices. Thus, while Dutch soldiers' photographs emphasise the emotional comfort and material assistance that Indonesian women and children provided them in the 'household', these sources also reveal that houseboys were often recruited into child soldiering, and that barracks concubinage was effectively established for the

first time in Dutch (as opposed to colonial) military units during the military actions of the late 1940s. For Indonesian women servants, their sexual services to Dutch combatants were strongly imbricated with 'household' labours. Soldiers' photographs, interpreted critically together with oral testimonies, extend the evidence base for positing the likelihood of women servants having experienced sexual coercion and violence in this context.

Barracks concubinage in Dutch military institutions in Indonesia, 1946–49

The amateur photographs taken by Dutch soldiers during the counter-insurgency of the late 1940s provide unique views into the evolution of barracks concubinage during Indonesia's decolonisation. In fact, soldiers' own photographs confirm that, during this conflict, barracks concubinage thrived for the first and only time in institutions where they had not previously existed, namely: the Dutch Royal Army (KL, *Koninklijke Landmacht*) and Royal Navy (KM, *Koninklijke Marine*), which consisted entirely of conscripts and volunteers from the Netherlands, some 140,000 men in total (Oostindie, Hoogenboom and Verwey 2015, pp. 22–23).

Concubinage had existed at every level of colonial society in the Netherlands East Indies until the turn of the twentieth century. This was a practice whereby Indonesian women provided domestic work, a sexual relationship and childcare for (Indo-)European men in the absence of a marriage contract, such that the man's reciprocal provision of financial support, shelter and protection was of a reduced standard and less secure than married women were legally entitled to receive (Ming 1983, pp. 68, 72, 80, 85). Uniquely for European colonies in Asia, concubinage was institutionalised in the colonial army (the KNIL, or *Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger*) during the early 1870s, when the Dutch commenced their conquest of Aceh in northern Sumatra. Significant moral outrage in Dutch and colonial society notwithstanding, concubinage in the KNIL was defended by the highest Dutch military authorities, and not only because it was a cheaper option than marriage for soldiers demanding the domestic and sexual services of Indonesian women. Concubinage was supported until its official ban in 1928 because authorities feared that soldiers would turn to pederasty, sodomy or the rape of women unless a range of domestic services that included sex could be readily obtained from a proximate female population. That it was in the nature of fighting men to demand sex, and that the morale of soldiers would suffer in the absence, was a persistent argument—one that occasionally resurfaces in present-day scholarship—for justifying barracks concubinage throughout the late-colonial period (Baay 2008, pp. 37, 129, 130, 165–166, 171–173; Groen 2009, pp. 125, 128, 133; Ming 1983, pp. 69–71, 84, 87).[3]

Annegriet Wietsma and Stef Scagliola (2013) have demonstrated that Indonesian barracks servants were among the broader range of women with whom Dutch soldiers had marriage-like relationships that frequently resulted

in children who were abandoned by their fathers. The oral testimonies gathered by these researchers is an important source for this chapter. However, I focus specifically on Indonesian domestic servants and photographs of them to argue that, while barracks concubinage was not formally endorsed by Dutch authorities during the military actions in Indonesia, it was certainly not phased out with the invasion of Japan in 1942 as some scholars have claimed (Baay 2008, pp. 276–278).[4] Concubinage was in fact introduced to Dutch military units where it had never before existed.

Histories of domestic service in colonial Indonesia are as relevant to understanding this novel, if short-lived, development in the late 1940s as are practices of military concubinage in the KNIL. Indonesian women and children had been part of Dutch colonial households, as domestic servants, wives and offspring, since the East India Company settlements of the seventeenth century. Before the abolition of slavery in 1863, these women and children were often chattel to free Dutchmen. Beyond that time, their liberty was not at issue *per se* so much as the additional rights and privileges that accrued to women and children with European-equivalent (as opposed to Native or Foreign Oriental) legal standing. This status depended on whether a woman was legally married to a European man, in whose power it rested whether or not to recognise any children born of the union as legitimate (Luttikhuis 2013).

Just as they did in aristocratic Indigenous and wealthy Chinese households, Indonesian women and children also worked for and often lived with Europeans as domestic servants in colonial Indonesia. Their numbers varied according to the wealth of the family, but the typical colonial household employed a houseboy (*jongos*/*sepen*) who served food and cleaned areas open to guests. There might also be a male gardener and perhaps a driver, all of whom were responsible for public-facing, 'outside' roles, according to local customs. Women servants usually occupied the 'inside' roles, such as seamstress and cook (*kokkie*). In the colonial household, the *babu* (housemaid, nursemaid or laundress) often cared for children and maintained the family bedrooms (Locher-Scholten 2000, pp. 89–91).

The nuclear, white Dutch (*totok*) family with a *babu* to care for the children was a late development in the social history of colonialism in Indonesia (Figure 3.1), but one that has profoundly shaped postcolonial scholarship on the mediating role that European women played as the wives and mothers who managed and interposed themselves between the Indonesian staff and the European man of the house (Locher-Scholten 2000; Stoler 2002). These hierarchical class and race relations were routinely recorded in the photographs of colonial families, from the advent of studio photography in the mid-nineteenth century until the hey-day of amateur snapshot photography in the 1920s and 1930s (Lowrie 2017; Protschky 2012; Saptari 2011; Westerkamp 2012).

Dutch soldiers' photographs from the military actions of the late 1940s show that a full suite of Indonesian servants was often employed in their barracks (Figure 3.2),[5] but with significant differences in the age and function of some workers compared to standard colonial practice less than a decade

Figure 3.1 A European family with their *babu*, 1920s, Central Java. (Unknown photographer.)
Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Alb-2339.

Figure 3.2 A household of servants in a Dutch army barracks.
Collection Cordang, Image Bank WWII (NIOD), Amsterdam, BC543.

earlier. Unlike colonial households, a female Indonesian *kokkie* rarely appears in Dutch soldiers' photographs,[6] perhaps because soldiers themselves were commonly assigned to kitchen duties. In keeping with colonial convention, the female servants in the barracks 'household' appear to have been mainly young, unmarried women (Locher-Scholten 2000, p. 91).

Dutch soldiers' captions and annotations to photographs refer to all women servants by a single term: '*babu*'. However, unlike her colonial predecessor, the *babu* of the late 1940s was no longer focused on child care. Instead, her formal duties were confined to keeping soldiers' clothes clean and in good repair. She was almost always photographed in the vicinity of a washroom or a clothesline hung with ordered rows of soldiers' whites (undershirts and shorts) and khakis (outer gear) (Figure 3.3). In the late 1940s, then, the term '*babu*' had acquired a specific meaning in the vocabulary of Dutch soldiers: 'laundress' was the primary and official gloss. As I will demonstrate, there was also a secondary, colloquial and widely understood meaning that recognised the sexual labours entwined in the *babu*'s domestic work such that it meant something similar to 'barracks concubine'.

Unlike both military and civilian conventions for photographically representing Indonesian servants in colonial households, Dutch soldiers during the military actions of the late 1940s were ambivalent about depicting the domestic labour that women and children performed in their households. Instead, Dutch soldiers focused on the emotional and, in the case of women, sexual labours

Figure 3.3 Soldiers with the laundry '*babus*'.
Collection J.C. Hunselar, Image Bank WWII (NIOD), Amsterdam, BC465.

that Indonesian servants offered them without ever positioning them as dependents. Put differently, Dutch soldiers' photographs emphasised the comforts of home that Indonesian women and children provided them in novel and ambiguous ways that completely reconfigured the obligations colonial men were historically expected to provide as employers or partners in concubinage.

These differences were largely contingent on the temporary status of the KL and KM in Indonesia. Unlike the combatants in past colonial wars—which were fought by mostly Indigenous or local-born soldiers of the KNIL, an institution of colonial authority in the Indies—the ethnically Dutch soldiers of the 'Royal' military forces were deployed to prosecute a reconquest of the Indies and then withdraw to the Netherlands, leaving the resumption of colonial rule to Dutch civilians in their wake. Nonetheless, the longer, quasi-settler-colonial history of race, gender and class relations between (Indo-)European men and subaltern Indonesian women is pertinent to understanding how Dutch soldiers of the KL and KM behaved in and photographed their households during the late 1940s.

I use the term 'households' intentionally, to designate historical continuities in the social composition of Dutch soldiers' barracks during the military actions. The existence of male enclaves and the scarcity of European (but not Indonesian) women had, until the late nineteenth century, been the defining feature of colonial society in the Indies, so the demography of the late 1940s was nothing new (Ming 1983; Taylor 1983). I also use 'households' because it was Dutch soldiers themselves who overwhelmingly preferred the term '*ons huis*' (our house) to 'barracks' or 'billet' in the captions to their own photographs. There are number of reasons for this. One is practical. During the late 1940s, Dutch armed forces frequently requisitioned existing residential compounds in Indonesian towns and cities rather than confine themselves to military facilities, which were insufficient for the scale of the counterinsurgency. Further, the conflict soon developed into a lengthy guerrilla war such that the Dutch combatant experience, even for those soldiers in front-line activities, was characterised by regular periods of inactivity between patrols, sweeps and major campaigns. Rest and recreation, in the barracks as well as among Indonesian villages and cities, were significant components of Dutch combatants' lives (Oostindie, Hoogenboom and Verwey 2015; Wietsma and Scagliola 2013). Indeed, soldiers' photograph collections are replete with images of themselves and their comrades visiting hotels in major cities, swimming in outdoor pools, reading newspapers, writing letters, lounging about the porch and the yard, and sharing congenial meals.

There were additional reasons why cultivating a 'feeling of home' (*thuisgevoel*) through personal photography was important, for soldiers' morale and that of their families in the Netherlands (Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, p. 121). After all, these were the primary audiences for whom such photographs were intended (although they often reached other viewers too) (Protschky 2020). World War Two and the German occupation of the Netherlands had just ended shortly before the commencement of revolutionary conflict in Indonesia in late 1945.

Many Dutch volunteer soldiers who had missed the fighting in Europe hoped to be received in Indonesia as heroes for liberating civilians from the 'terrorists' (following contemporary Dutch propaganda) who prosecuted revolution. At the same time, for young Dutchmen and their families, and for military authorities, the prospect of another long conflict made communication with the home front a priority. This was especially the case after September 1946, when the majority of Dutch combatants in Indonesia were conscripted. Beyond the realities of censorship, soldiers' letters and enduring post-war silences demonstrate how they internalised official instructions to reassure their loved ones in the Netherlands that all was well on the front. As the war dragged on, and some Dutchmen found themselves serving tours of three years and longer, these demands became more pressing (Oostindie, Hoogenboom and Verwey 2015, pp. 40–41; Protschky 2020; Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, pp. 20, 114).

In photographs that show Dutch forces encountering Indonesian civilians in towns and villages, soldiers were at pains to show themselves establishing good relations with locals. Importantly, such encounters also offered Dutch combatants opportunities for comfort. One soldier recorded the date of his arrival on Indonesian soil in an album with the following caption: '18.12.1947. One day in Sabang (Sumatra). After one month, finally once more solid ground under the feet.' The accompanying photograph showed three Dutch soldiers posing cheerfully with two young local boys (Figure 3.4). A moment of encounter between a

Figure 3.4 Soldiers with two young local boys.
Collection J.G. Vooges, Image Bank WWII (NIOD), Amsterdam.

colonial occupying force and local children appears here as one of poignant relief for a soldier seeking the resumption of 'normal' life after a long period of homosocial confinement, in training and onboard ship, in preparation for war.

Photographs that soldiers took *within* their barracks provide a similar image of congenial relations with the Indonesian women and children in their midst. These encounters routinely appear comradely rather than hierarchical, and thus differ radically from colonial-era photographs of Dutchmen and their servants. Gone is the stiff reserve and social distance that characterised pre-1942 photographs of (Indo-)Europeans and their domestics, where *jongos* stood to attention and the *babu*'s subordination was signalled by picturing her waiting on a child as her employers (the parents) sat aloof at a distance. In Dutch soldiers' photographs from the military actions, one could almost mistake their encounters with Indonesian children in the barracks as a paternalistic indulgence of local urchins in search of excitement, activity and perhaps the odd stick of gum or a biscuit.[7] Yet captions frequently identify these children as '*jongos*' or '(work)boys' (Figure 3.5).[8] The *jongos* of the late 1940s, then, was far more likely to have been a boy rather than an adult male.[9]

It is not surprising that child labour existed in Dutch soldiers' barracks, given that a minimum working age of fourteen was not enacted in Indonesia

Figure 3.5 'Our piece [truck], and the work boys'.
Collection I.N.J. Janssen, Image Bank WWII. (NIOD), BC526.

until 1949. Child labour was widespread, accepted and legal in almost every sector of the colonial economy, excluding factories and enclosed buildings, until the end of Dutch rule and beyond (White 2004, pp. 80–82, 85–87, 90–94).[10] However, careful inspection of Dutch soldiers' photographs reveals that some children in the barracks crossed the line from houseboys to soldiers. Some collections show Indonesian boys carrying weapons for Dutch combatants.[11] Another shows uniformed children in the company of military authorities (a major and a colonel), while in a third example, boys designated as 'our children' take part in a military inspection and are solemnly addressed by General Spoor, commander of the Dutch armed forces. A uniformed boy and a Dutch soldier appear in yet another collection with the caption, 'Henki and his adopted father' (*plegvader*).[12]

It is possible that children orphaned by conflict were indeed taken into Dutch platoons to become sources of dependent labour (Limpach 2016, Plate 60), but the extent of such practices is yet to be determined. Certainly, the content of soldiers' photographs suggests the line between domestic service and child soldiering was indistinct. What is also clear from Dutch soldiers' collections is that they preferred to muddle the evidence of both domestic and soldiering work that Indonesian children performed in and around barracks, perhaps because the militarised context in which such labours occurred could not but call into question the already limited agency of Indonesian children as 'workers'. Dutch soldiers made these elisions by avoiding positioning themselves as the employers of young boys. Instead, their captions sometimes characterised their hierarchical relationships with children as paternalism rather than exploitation, and their photographs visually represented soldiers as indulgent and affectionate rather than as imperiously commanding their servants.

By comparison, soldiers alluded more clearly to the labour of Indonesian women in their barracks, particularly in the recurring laundry setting where women were photographed washing soldiers' clothes (see Figures 3.3).[13] Once again, however, closer inspection of these sources reveals departures from more recent colonial labour practices and visual conventions. Soldiers commonly pictured one another not only on friendly but also intimate terms with the '*babu*'. One photograph of a soldier with his arm around a woman who leans into him bears the caption, 'The late Sjef Kuppens with his *babu*', an annotation unusual for designating her as 'his' (Figure 3.6). Perhaps the fact that Kuppens was killed in action permitted this subtle confession of what may have been the soldier's last ever relationship with a woman. More common in captions to similar photographs is a neutral article like 'the', even in situations where mutual affection was visually evident (Figure 3.7).[14]

Dutch soldiers frequently appeared with *babu*s in states of undress that would, as late as 1942, have been considered scandalous for a European man of marriageable age consorting with any woman, let alone an Indonesian servant in his employ (see Figures 3.3, 3.7, 3.4, 3.9 and 3.10). Physical intimacy was never visible in colonial-era photographs of Dutchmen with either Indonesian women servants or with their concubines, even in the military

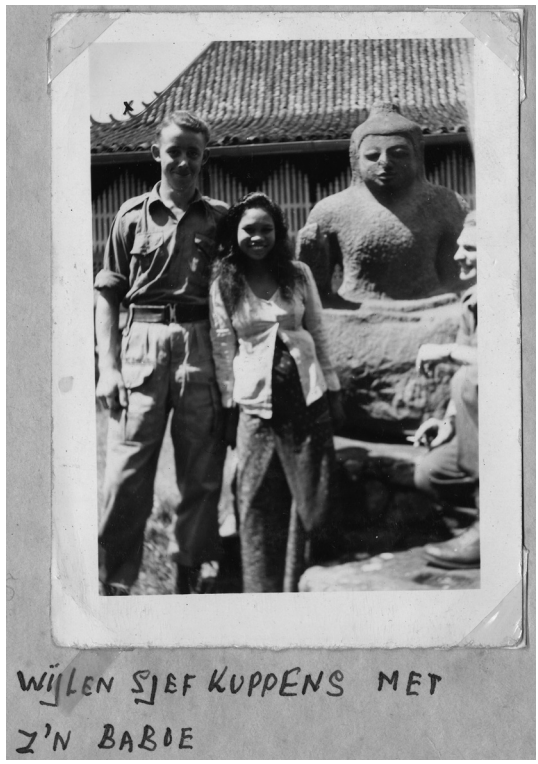

Figure 3.6 'The late Sjef Kuppens with his *babu*'.
Collection T. Mickers, Image Bank WWII (NIOD), Amsterdam, BC508.

context (Baay 2010). Further, photographs of KNIL barracks from near the end of the Aceh War show full households of servants where the *jongos* was still an adult or at least adolescent male, and washerwomen were positioned at a respectful distance from soldiers (Figure 3.8). Although formal barracks concubinage existed in this period, then, military 'households' were photographed in modes that conformed to conventions for representing domestics in *civilian* households, including in late-colonial amateur family photography. In these cases, the labour of Indonesian women and children was explicit, and the hierarchical relationships between (Indo-)European masters and their servants were evident in the physical and social remoteness governing their deportment.

Perhaps it was the candid photographs that the evolution of handheld cameras enabled in the 1940s, and the advent of press photography showing Allied soldiers claiming sexual liberties with civilian women at the end of World War Two, that accounts for Dutch soldiers' inclinations to take such unorthodox photographs during the counterinsurgency in Indonesia.[15] The result is ample

Figure 3.7 'Joop with the *babu*'.
Collection T. Mickers, Image Bank WWII (NIOD), Amsterdam, BC508.

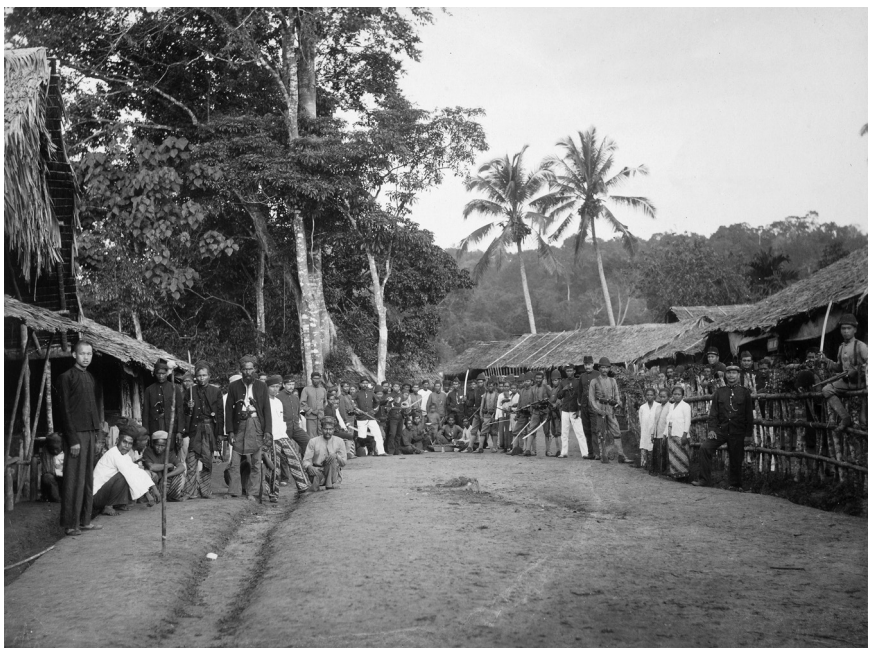

Figure 3.8 Bivouac at Peudada during the Aceh War. (Unknown photographer.)
Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, TM-60039127.

visual and historical evidence of sexual relationships between Dutch soldiers and Indonesian women servants that is by no means as rare as Wietsma and Scagliola (2013, p. 270) have contended. Further, I demonstrate below how soldiers' amateur photographs from the military actions of the late 1940s reveal the *mechanisms* by which claims for the domestic labours of Indonesian women were converted into sex work, even in the absence of a formal reinstatement of barracks concubinage.

Sites of transaction: barracks laundry work as an entry into sexual relations

Dutch combatants' photographs noticeably dwell on the laundry and the Indonesian women working there as a recurrent feature of barracks life. Soldiers' daily need for clean clothes no doubt partly impelled these reflections. Yet no other site of domestic work in the barracks received quite so much attention and it was here, in the yard where clothes hung, or at the threshold to a laundry room, that soldiers often photographed each other with servants. Distinct from colonial-era photographs, the presence of Dutchmen in such images reconstructs the social context of a transaction for domestic labour, the significance of which I will explain shortly. That laundries were more than workplaces for the *babu*, but also locations of encounter and sociability between these women and Dutch soldiers, as well as sites of domestic comfort for the latter, is suggested in the repetition of the trope in soldiers' collections and its positioning in contexts where 'being at home' was curated.

One eloquent example is an album page with a cluster of photographs showing soldiers in repose: relaxing on a bed, smoking pipes and listening to the radio. At the page's centre is a photograph of a young *babu* serenely seated with a puppy at the entrance to a laundry. In another photograph, a soldier stands in the shadow of the doorway in his underpants, while a second man crouches beside the same *babu* over three puppies in a third image (Figure 3.9). The woman's delight, which the soldiers (including the invisible photographer) evidently shared in, is clearly the focus of this photograph. More than a pleasant social scene, however, such photographs record the setting in which seemingly innocuous transactions between soldiers and servants over domestic labour often transitioned into sexual encounters.

The iconography of the 'native' washerwoman submitted to a male, colonial gaze has a strong pedigree in histories of colonialism. Its notable feature is the conflation of domestic drudgery with the sexual availability of colonised women to European men. In modern colonial visual culture, the poor, ethnically 'Other' laundress was both a fetishised figure and, since she was responsible for the intimate cleanliness of her masters, a source of anxiety over class and racial hygiene (McClintock 1995, pp. 132–180). It was a particular hallmark of visual culture from the tropics, including colonial Indonesia, that male European painters and photographers converted the outdoor washing of bodies and clothes into an erotic opportunity to look at local women (and also boys), one

Figure 3.9 Page showing soldiers relaxing in the barracks, and a *babu* with puppies. Collection P. Kossens, Image Bank WWII (NIOD), Amsterdam.

that frequently violated Indigenous expectations of privacy in semi-public places such as river banks and city canals (Protschky 2008).

During the Dutch military actions in Indonesia, the laundry was not just the place where social encounters with Indonesian women were most probable for soldiers who were otherwise removed, by cultural and language barriers, from contact with local populations (Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, p. 131). It was also a permissible situation where domestic transactions might transmute into other relations. In this regard, the laundry functioned as a portal into sexual services. We have evidence of this not just in the many amateur photographs of Dutch soldiers flirting with *babu*s at their laundry work. Soldiers sometimes fetishised other domestic transactions where men were present to observe or request work from women. For example, soldiers photographed scenes of women serving other needs, such as cleaning boots (Figure 3.10).[16] In another album, two soldiers staged '*pisang kopen*' (buying a banana) with the *babu*. Adjacent photographs on the same page show the soldiers and servant laughing at being unable to sustain the pretence.[17] The capture of the fiction's comedic breakdown—the moment when the transaction was both exposed and parodied—is significant. In colonial photography, humorous stagings of domesticity often provided commentary on respectable social and sexual mores (Protschky 2012).

Figure 3.10 Servant cleaning soldiers' boots.
Collection C.H. van Leeuwen, Image Bank WWII (NIOD), Amsterdam, BC247.

Further evidence that the barracks laundry held more than just voyeuristic opportunities for Dutch soldiers comes from oral history. Significantly for my purposes here, in the accounts of Dutch veterans the stories that end in pregnancy often begin with an anecdote about an Indonesian woman from a nearby *kampung* (neighbourhood) offering to wash a soldier's clothes (Wietsma 2010; Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, pp. 95, 140). Indeed, for a soldier to bring a village woman into the barracks as a 'washerwoman' was tolerated by his superiors as an acceptable mode of effectively taking a concubine (Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, p. 97). Soldiers' photographs and testimonies reveal that dwelling on the domestic transaction was clearly important for legitimising later events. To pay for housework exonerated or even authorised an expectation that sex might follow. Photographs that capture or restage these transactions for domestic work visually festishise that part in a longer process of relations that could be shown without transgressing the rules of propriety and arousing suspicions on the Dutch home front.

It is important to distinguish between the category of photographs showing Indonesian women and children as a friendly presence *within* soldiers' barracks

from the genre showing combatants' encounters with civilians *outside* the barracks. As I have argued elsewhere (Protschky 2018), the latter demonstrate what soldiers claimed to do for the civilian Indonesian population, namely, the humanitarian work that legitimised the Dutch reconquest of Indonesia. By contrast, photographs of domestic life and Indonesians' service within the barracks focused on what Indonesian women and children did for the soldiers. Carole Pateman's (1988) theorisation of the 'sexual contract' assists with conceptualising why the laundry, a site of a domestic labour exchange—a woman's work for a man's money, or some other mode of making a living in kind—became the locus of past, present or possible sexual transactions in Dutch soldiers' photographs from the military actions. Following Pateman (1988, pp. 128–136, 142, 199), in patriarchal contexts, women's domestic labour is entangled with their sexual services to men in exchange for a (nominal) living and security. While this expectation is often mutual, the 'contract' is made on unequal terms and women have historically been in the subordinate position when it comes to its enforcement.

In the rare instances where Dutch soldiers photographed encounters with prostitutes (which were actually illegal during the military actions), they made very plain the imbrication of domestic with sexual services in their expectations of local women. One album contains a page of photographs showing Dutch soldiers on recreational leave in Bandung, where they consort with an attractive, fashionably dressed Indo-Chinese woman. The caption to a photograph in which soldiers stand close beside the smiling woman reads '*Personeel Welz. Verz*'.[18] The unnamed woman is referred to only as 'personnel of the Welfare Service', there to look after the wellbeing of the soldiers.[19] Once again, the use of jokes—this time a pun rather than a visual parody—is instructive on the terms of transaction. The association between Dutch soldiers' access to local women, the comforts ('welfare') they provided, and sex work could not be more eloquently compounded.

The question of violence

Amateur soldiers' photographs of economic and social transactions in the barracks laundry expand the historical source base for showing how and where sexual relationships between Dutch combatants and Indonesian women servants often began or took place. The continuities and changes I have traced between soldiers' photographs from the late 1940s and earlier, colonial-era images reveal more than evolving visual conventions for representing (neo-)colonial social hierarchies. They also uniquely divulge how soldiers in the Dutch Royal Army and Navy relied on Indonesian women, as well as children, for material and emotional support to wage colonial war.

An important question that remains to be addressed is what, if anything, can these photographs tell us about the circumstances in which the *babu* became a barracks concubine, and from her perspective, not just that of the soldiers who photographed her? Crucial to such an inquiry is the question of

Indonesians' agency. To what extent did women servants consent to performing the sex work that Dutch soldiers conflated with laundry labour, and what can these sources possibly tell us about sexual coercion or violence?

Such an inquiry must proceed with caution, acknowledging that the primary social function of soldiers' photographs showing Indonesian servants in their barracks was to (re)produce—through the subjects depicted as well as the act of photographing and making an album—the comforts of 'home'. In this regard, soldiers' amateur photographs conformed to decades of colonial 'family' photography from the Indies, as well as to international practices of family photography that share the trait of normalising or eliding household hierarchies, tensions and discord in favour of showing harmonious relationships (Hirsch 1981; Langford 2006; Rose 2010). It would have defeated these general norms, as well as the specific self-representations of Dutch soldiers as humanitarians during the military actions of the late 1940s, to show servants being abused. Certainly, violence against servants and concubines had never featured explicitly in colonial photographs, nor would duress be visible where it is 'domesticated' by reference to older patterns of coupling between European men and Indonesian women over centuries of Dutch colonial rule. How, then, can soldiers' photographs tell us anything other than 'a familiar story: the feminized, depoliticized home as the locus for a kinder, gentler colonialism' (Stoler and Strassler 2002, p. 173)? There are two theoretical answers to this question that frame the empirical evidence to follow.

The first refers to precedent. Extant studies in colonial social history provide methods for retrieving the lives of Indigenous women through the most prodigious sources on their lives, namely, those produced by their European spouses and fathers. Durba Ghosh's (2006) work on the relationships between elite British men and Indian women provides a fine example of how feminist scholarship, combined with attentive historical research, can posit credible experiences and give space to 'silences that are often unlikely to be empty' (D'Cruze and Rao 2004, p. 499). Further, a vast, interdisciplinary literature demonstrates the particular vulnerability of civilian women to occupying forces during wartime, when women are far more likely to experience sexual violence and coercion than the already high and often under-reported rates in peace-time. It is precisely *because* Dutch soldiers' photographs were taken alongside the barrel of a gun that coercion and violence against women of a different culture, class and skin colour was not only plausible but also probable (Luttikhuis and Harinck 2017, p. 53; Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, p. 88).

The second answer is an ethical one. The recent Dutch government endorsement of an independent historical inquiry into the military actions of the late 1940s would not have happened had historians not persisted with the problem of how to frame questions about and find evidence for atrocities.[20] Scholars persevered for decades—against strong official and veterans' resistance—to expand evidence of Dutch military atrocities committed against male Indonesian combatants and civilians. We are now obliged to acknowledge a 'gendered hierarchy of abuses' (Kent 2014, p. 290) in the current

scholarship, and persevere with investigating less visible Indonesian experiences of the Dutch military actions and the National Revolution, like those of Indonesian women and children whose voices are often silent in archives.

The only extant scholarship to address sexual relations between Dutch soldiers and Indonesian women is Wietsma and Scagliola's work, which focused on ostensibly consensual relationships. These researchers did not set out to write a history of rape or sexual violence and, not surprisingly, they found little evidence of it (Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, p. 10; see also Oostindie, Hoogenboom and Verwey 2015, pp. 258, 264). But a critical reading of their informants' own testimonies, combined with my examination here of Dutch soldiers' photographs of the *babu* in the barracks, suggests that this conclusion cannot be upheld.

Dutch soldiers' photograph collections contain images where women workers appear pensive or reticent at being intruded upon, and their consent to being photographed (including with soldiers) does not appear to have been freely given.[21] Further, these sources frequently demonstrate how unreciprocated touching was the soldier's prerogative. In soldiers' snapshots, the *babu* often stands with her hands by her sides while the soldier—who frequently towers over her, much exceeding the woman in height—puts his hands on the servant's shoulder, arm or back.[22] Often the touching was not only unrequited, it was also done by groups of men, which compounds the possible duress of the context. Had these photographs otherwise followed the conventions of colonial-era photography, and represented the social distance of masters from their servants in ways that conformed with earlier class and gender norms, then such postures might be less remarkable (Lowrie 2017, pp. 1296–1297). But the overall tenor of these photographs was to represent *companionate* relations between soldiers and Indonesian servants in their barracks, which in itself was unprecedented.

That Dutch soldiers, particularly in numbers that could be construed as intimidating, were emboldened to put their hands on Indonesian women servants who often did not reciprocate this behaviour suggests the enactment of patriarchal privileges based on assumptions about the responsibility of women to receive men's physical attentions (Manne 2017; Pateman 1988).[23] Touch asymmetry, though, is a function of power differentials based on class as well as gender (Hall and Veccia 1992). Existing evidence suggests that the women who worked as *babu*s in Dutch soldiers' barracks were poor, low-paid, and economically vulnerable.

Regular Dutch soldiers did not earn much (50–60 guilders per month for conscripts), and the small number of working women whom Annagriet Scagliola and Stef Wietsma interviewed reported earning enough money to be independent of their Dutch lovers' wages (Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, pp. 144–145). Significantly, none of these women worked as domestic servants. It was Dutch veterans who exclusively narrated the latter's experiences. Ironically, their testimonies draw a portrait of women who were so poor they were willing to accept irregular cash or payment in kind in exchange for laundry work and sex. One

veteran recalled that his relationship with the mother of his child began when she offered to wash his clothes for him. Another described how he met a strange Javanese woman on the road, took a ride in a *becak* with her, and stopped with her at a secluded spot outside a village to have sex. Afterwards she asked him for seven guilders, and he was so surprised that he gave her ten. Decades later, he was unable to explain her actions: she had been so sweet to him, she could not have been a prostitute. Yet another veteran explained that he believed Indonesian women were happy to 'grant' the soldiers sex ('*ze gunnen het ons wel*') in return for food and safety. A different soldier told how he had attempted to start affairs with several Indonesian women that failed, only to meet success with a *babu* after he gave her money. Two soldiers agreed to share the cost of maintaining a *babu* by paying her in rice, kerosene and bolts of cotton in exchange for sex with her (Wietsma 2010; Wietsma and Scagliolia 2013, pp. 85–87).

The veterans' testimonies reveal that Indonesian women clearly engaged in survival sex, and that the initial transaction of offering or accepting to give 'housework' for Dutch soldiers was the socially acceptable portal, understood by both parties, into the higher-value, sometimes longer-term exchange of sex for subsistence. It needs to be acknowledged that Indonesian women exercised some agency in suggesting these services as the preferable alternative to poverty, or for complex individual reasons that we cannot retrieve without hearing their side of the story (Groen 2009, pp. 128, 131; Močnik 2017, p. 43). But soldiers' photographs of cheerful or charitable encounters elide *systemic* realities such as the straitened wartime economy following hard on the heels of the deprivations many Indonesians had already experienced under the Japanese occupation (Oostindie, Hoogenboom and Verwey 2015, p. 84; Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, pp. 36, 92). The veterans' testimonies also show that, even after decades of reflection, they were oblivious to or unwilling to acknowledge the economic duress under which Indonesian women entered into these transactions. The men professed surprise or glossed a woman's attentiveness as love or generosity ('care') (Manne 2017; Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, p. 87).

It is not surprising, in such circumstances, that soldiers' photographs taken *in situ* should actually record the discomfort of women at a relatively minor breach of consent, such as presuming to touch a woman in one's employ. More than that, soldiers' photographic collections sometimes exposed the fiction of congenial social transactions between Dutch soldiers and Indonesian women servants. The reality of a militarised context in which soldiers were able to exert influence through force (Wietsma and Scagliola 2013, p. 88) is evident in a photograph of Dutch soldiers, one of whom carries a gun, with their arms around two '*babus*' (Figure 3.11). The short caption, 'sport and other entertainment' (*sport en ander vermaak*), is in the same category of joke as the one about the 'welfare personnel', except this one contains the allusion of hunting and positions the women as prey rather than carers. That Dutch soldiers did not always regard their servants as fully human, let alone equal or deserving of respect, is evident in another caption to a photograph taken among Indonesian women: '*Babu*s and other old rubbish by the garage' (*Baboes en andere ouwe rommel bij de garage*) (Figure 3.12).

Figure 3.11 'Sport and other entertainment'.
Collection B. van Dijk, Image Bank WWII (NIOD), Amsterdam, BC010.

The ideal method for determining how Indonesian women servants experienced this complex spectrum of soldiers' attitudes towards and memories of them, from adoration to contempt, would be through targeted oral histories. Yet the opportunity for such studies is closing fast, as few women of this generation remain living. One anthropological study of former Indonesian servants to Europeans between the 1920s and 1950s, led by Ann Laura Stoler and Karen Strassler, found rumours of widespread sexual assault and a few self-reports of rape at the hands of European masters (Stoler and Strassler 2002, pp. 180–182, 195). They also discovered that former women servants were more comfortable discussing the deprivations of the Japanese occupation, which chimed with Indonesian nationalist narratives of communal suffering, while their reports of sexual violence were comparatively incoherent. Further, the researchers encountered in Indonesian informants the same ambiguous stereotypes of '*nyai*' (concubines) that had prevailed in Dutch colonial culture—namely, that women servants who entered into sexual relations with their masters were either oppressed victims or opportunistic and untrustworthy (Stoler and Strassler 2002, pp. 180–181; Taylor 1996). Finally, Stoler and Strassler's study, which was conducted just before the collapse of the New Order regime, confirmed the difficulty of retrieving stories of sexual coercion in a context where decades of violence and authoritarian rule had followed Indonesia's decolonisation, and the dominant cultural scripts for discussing

Figure 3.12 '*Babu*s and other old rubbish by the garage'.
Collection Bron, Image Bank WWII (NIOD), Amsterdam, BC457.

experiences that are always already glossed as 'private' did not extend to everyday, 'ambiguous and normalized' violence against women (Stoler and Strassler 2002, pp. 176, 179).

Conclusions

Scholars have worked hard to identify the structural components of mass violence committed during the military actions of the late 1940s by Dutch soldiers against male Indonesian combatants and civilians. These are now established to have included a military command structure that neither adequately supported Dutch soldiers in guerrilla conditions nor regulated and punished known incidents of atrocity against Indonesians (Limpach 2016; Oostindie, Hoogenboom and Verwey 2015). Women have thus far figured in these histories as the surviving family members and recipients of compensation for war crimes committed by Dutch soldiers against Indonesian men (Luttikhuis 2014; McGregor 2014). Expanding on the observations already made by Wietsma and Scagliola (2013, pp. 110–111), I contend that understandings of structural

violence need to include recognition of how Dutch military authorities enabled the conditions in which ordinary soldiers could coerce and exploit the Indonesians most proximate to and employed by them. The Dutch military command officially refused to countenance the reality of barracks concubinage: prostitution was illegal, and no contraceptives were provided to soldiers, yet it was *only* soldiers who were inspected and treated for venereal diseases. The health and safety of Indonesian women remained unregulated. Further, in practice, military authorities tolerated the informal modes in which Dutch soldiers arranged and legitimised domestic and sexual relationships with vulnerable women servants in the hypermasculine, militarised environment of the occupation army barracks. Children appear to have been recruited not just to barracks service, but also military support.

Dutch soldiers' amateur photographs are not the ideal primary source to gain access to these forms of violence, not least because they were often the perpetrators. Sexual violence is often the least visible of atrocities, particularly where it is not, as histories of the Dutch military operations currently suggest, a widespread and explicit weapon of war. Dutch soldiers' photographs also obscure the degrees of agency—along the full continuum from violence to duress to enthusiastic consent—that individual Indonesians in Dutch soldiers' barracks might have exercised to survive poverty and war. The men's photographs instead favour showing what was important to them: the domestic, emotional and physical labours that Indonesians performed. In doing so, however, these sources reveal neglected facets of combat in guerrilla wars of colonial counterinsurgency, particularly the importance of women and children in occupied countries for providing the comforts of home that supported masculine identities, patriarchal households, and soldiering itself.

Attending to Dutch soldiers' photographs of Indonesian women and children in their barracks requires sensitivity to the 'excesses' inherent in colonial photography (Pinney 2003), the ambivalent content of images that arises from photographers being partially blind to the perspectives of the people whom they represent, and the tensions that emerge in the captions photographers used to describe their own ambiguous positions towards the subjects. Using Dutch soldier's photographs to understand the experiences of Indonesian women and children in their barracks, who did not and may never represent themselves for the historical record, demands recognition of the possibility not just of their victimhood, but also of survival modes honoured neither in nationalist Indonesian histories nor in present-day Dutch processes for acknowledging atrocities (Kent 2014; Močnik 2017). To use these photographs involves leaving an informed, critical space open to narrate what might have happened, and suggesting possible avenues for further investigation, as the better alternative to silences that enable forgetting.

Archives

NIOD (Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie/Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies), Amsterdam.

NIMH (Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Geschiedenis/Netherlands Institute for Military History), The Hague, Collection 545 'Sweep', Egodocumenten Nederlands-Indië 1945–1950.

KITLV Special Collections (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde/Royal Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies), Leiden University Library.

KIT (Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen/Royal Tropical Museum), Amsterdam.

Notes

1 This chapter is an outcome of the Australian Research Council Discovery Project, 'Disaster, Human Suffering and Colonial Photography' (DP170100948). Thanks to the editors and convenors of the symposium on which this volume is based, Hannah Loney, Ana Dragojlovic and Kate McGregor, for their useful comments to improve this chapter.

2 This chapter draws on thousands of amateur Dutch soldiers' photographs across more than 160 individual albums and collections at archives listed in the References section.

3 In their otherwise illuminating study, Wietsma and Scagliola (2013) go to astonishing lengths to develop a 'boys-will-be-boys' explanation for why Dutch soldiers sought casual and often exploitative sexual encounters with Indonesian women in the late 1940s: they argue that young men in particular are 'driven' by testosterone to seek sex, that guerrilla war is stressful and soldiers need a release for their tensions, and that the long occupation was frequently boring and soldiers thus sought sex as entertainment (pp. 8, 32, 47, 41, 48, 114).

4 Wietsma and Scagliola (2013) acknowledge the history of military barracks concubinage in the Indies, but do not seek to reinstate the concept in their study of the late 1940s.

5 KIT TM Alb-2316; KITLV A1177 Bos; NIOD BC543 Cordang; NIOD BC539 Van der Vlist; NIOD BC435 Goemaat; NIOD A5683 Kossen; NIOD Van Hattum.

6 Wietsma and Scagliola (2013, p. 140) say these did exist.

7 All examples from NIOD: A5606 Roksnoer; BC244 De Jong; BC539 Van der Vlist; BC010 Van Dijk; BC400 Berends; BC435 Goemaat; BC543 Cordang; Van Hattum; Vooges; BC507 Abbo; BC432 Elijzen; BC457 Bron; BC265 (folder A) Nafzger; A56832 Kossen; BC508 Mickers; BC434 Van Rooij; Veeninga; A5665 Pitts.

8 See also KIT TM-Alb-7040–1 Van Luyn. The following all from NIOD: BC526 Janssen; BC508 Mickers; BC519 Van Veen; BC539 Van der Vlist; BC433 Van Broeckhuijsen; BC432 Van Wijk.

9 And contrary to the suggestion of Figure 3.2.

10 From 1925 to 1949, the legal minimum working age in the Indies was 12. According to White, breaches of the law at the raised minimum age of 14 were not enforced until 1997, which demonstrates the continuation of child labour in post-independence Indonesia.

11 See folder 270, collection Verhoekx, NIMH Sweep collection (ego-documents).

12 All at NIOD: A5606 Roksnoer; BC539 Van der Vlist; BC010 Bob van Dijk; Van Hattum.
13 See also KIT TM-Alb-7040–1 Van Luyn; KITLV A1177 Bos. The following from NIOD: BC236 De Raad; A5665 Pitts; A56832 Kossen; BC457 Bron; BC465 Hunselar; BC526 Janssen.
14 Other examples of mutual affection, signalled by a woman touching a soldier, all at NIOD: BC543 Cordang; BC265 Nafzger; BC465 Hunselar.
15 See the infamous photograph by Alfred Eisenstaedt, published in *Life* in August 1945 to celebrate V-day. The photograph shows an American navy sailor (Glen McDuffie) in the street grabbing and kissing a woman (Greta Zimmer Friedman) who neither knew him nor consented to the kiss: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/V-J_Day_in_Times_Square#/media/File:Legendary_kiss_V%E2%80%93J_day_in_Times_Square_Alfred_Eisenstaedt.jpg.
16 McClintock has a lot to say about boot-cleaning fetishes (1995, pp. 165–177).
17 KITLV A1178 Bos.
18 KITLV A1180 Bos, shelf marks 402093, 402094.
19 On the aims of the *Dienst Welzijsnverzorging*, or 'the Welfare', which was operational from September 1946, see Wietsma and Scagliola (2013, pp. 73–76).
20 https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/regering/inhoud/bewindspersonen/mark-rutte/documenten/mediateksten/2016/12/02/persconferentie-na-ministerraad-2-december-2016.
21 KITLV A1180 Bos, shelf mark 402096l. At NIOD: BC507 Abbo; A4750 Rijsdijk; A5665 Pitts; A5683 Kossen.
22 KITLV A1179 Bos, shelf marks 401956, 401970. At NIOD: BC507 Abbo; A5606 Roksnoer; BC247 Van Leeuwen.
23 Which studies about the socialisation of Javanese women in particular as 'passively' feminine do nothing to dispel, cf Wietsma and Scagliola (2013, p. 87).

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4 The sexual and visual dynamics of torture

Analysing atrocity photographs from Indonesian-occupied East Timor

Hannah Loney and Annie Pohlman

In late 1997, a collection of approximately 200 photographs depicting an array of graphically violent acts was smuggled out of Indonesian-occupied East Timor. The photographs were initially obtained by the East Timor International Support Centre (ETISC), an Australia-based organisation that supported self-determination for East Timor, and were subsequently disseminated to activist groups around the world. Approximately 40 of these disturbing photographs show the naked and half-naked, bruised, bloodied and seemingly unconscious bodies of East Timorese women and girls.

Prior to the publication of these photographs, a range of humanitarian organisations had reported rather extensively on the use of torture by the occupying forces in East Timor, primarily drawing upon personal testimony and witness accounts to support their claims (see Amnesty International 1985, 1994, 1995; Human Rights Watch/Asia 1994). For the ETISC (1997b), these photographs provided graphic, visual evidence of the perpetration of such human rights violations, as well as violations against women specifically. Taken and distributed near the end of both the Indonesian occupation of East Timor (1975–99) and President Suharto's New Order regime in Indonesia (1966–98), the photographs documented the highly gendered and intentionally visualised dimensions of violence that, as personal testimony and witness accounts revealed, was practised systematically by Indonesian security forces throughout the occupation of East Timor.[1]

In this chapter, we use this set of photographs to analyse the intersections between gender, torture, power and the visual dynamics of violence perpetrated by the Indonesian security forces in East Timor. In the first section, we discuss the use of atrocity images and reflect upon the ethics of studying visual materials created by perpetrators, both as evidence of their crimes and as artefacts that may bear witness to atrocity. In the second section, we focus on three of the East Timor photographs which feature women and teenage girl victims. We describe, but do not reproduce, the photographs and highlight the deliberate staging of them by those who carried out the torture and produced these images. We describe these photographs in detail in order to consider the violence being depicted in the images and the broader conditions under which such violence occurred. In the third section, we analyse these

three photographs in terms of their depiction of highly gendered and sexualised forms of torture.

We argue that the perpetrators seemingly recorded these acts and later placed them *on display*: perhaps to serve the purposes of producing a 'trophy' of the violence for consumption by the perpetrator and his associates. Through our analysis, we demonstrate that both the highly sexual and the visual dynamics of the violence were essential components of performing, documenting and commemorating these tortuous acts. Finally, we argue that the practice of performing and photographing violence was central to the fetishisation of gendered forms of state-sanctioned violence and terror in occupied East Timor. These processes of production and consumption, we suggest, reveal an explicitly visual dimension to the gendered violence practised by the Indonesian security services throughout the occupation.

Analysing atrocity images

The collection of torture photographs from East Timor that became so well-known—or rather infamous—within the international solidarity movement have rarely been discussed in detail.[2] In general, they have been displayed and circulated as a kind of proof, a claim to truth-telling, of the brutality of torture committed against both the individuals in the photographs, but also against the East Timorese people as a whole. They are evidence of this brutality to be sure, yet they have also become artefacts of these atrocities; left to stand as they are, without further analysis of the violence that they depict. As Mahmood Mamdani (2001) explains, however, 'atrocity cannot be its own explanation. Violence cannot be allowed to speak for itself, for violence is not its own meaning. To be made thinkable, it needs to be *historicised*' (pp. 228–229). For this collection of photographs, that means we must consider both the historical context of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, as well as the production and use of atrocity images more broadly.

In the following sections, we examine three of these photographs in detail in order to understand better how the victims, perpetrators and acts of violence are portrayed, and to consider for what purpose these photographs may have been produced. In conducting this analysis, we often blur the lines between the *reality* and the *representation* of torture. The reality of the experience of torture, the experience of bodily violation that 'unmakes' the world, to use Elaine Scarry's term, is a reality which in many ways remains unintelligible through the portrayal of violence in these images. For Scarry (1985), 'the thick agony of the body' resists representation, and the portrayal of the victims in these photographs is unable to make intelligible that agony to the mind and the flesh experienced by the victims (p. 35). The three photographs which we examine may give us some insights into the atrocities perpetrated against these young women and those who perpetrated these acts, but they can never convey—nor can we ever fully comprehend—the experience of those atrocities.[3]

Nevertheless, these images and the violence which they depict cannot be left as they are; they have meaning in their form and production, and these meanings must be examined. As Neil Whitehead (2004) argues, extreme acts such as these are 'specific forms of violence [that] are not produced by the febrile excess of savage or pathological minds but are cultural performances whose poetics derive from the history and sociocultural relationships of the locale' (p. 74). To engage with these photographs, therefore, we must take up Mamdani's challenge for making atrocity 'thinkable' by historicising the meanings created in and by these images of violence, as well as reflecting upon the ethical questions presented by such an analysis.

In analysing these images, we draw upon a substantive body of literature on human rights and visual culture, and on atrocity photographs in particular. Certainly, as Dora Apel (2013) reminds us, images of the tortured body are not new and have been represented in various forms of art and visual culture for much of the twentieth century (p. 143). Yet since the April 2004 publication of the photographs revealing the abuse by American soldiers of prisoners held in the Iraqi prison, Abu Ghraib, there has been an increase in scholarly attention on the power of photography as witness to abuse, and on the ethics of publicly displaying (and analysing) torture photographs. Visual theorists such as Jane Lydon (2018) have noted, for example, the use of the camera itself in *facilitating* these acts of torture, 'literally constituting them as forms of spectacular violence and providing "trophies" of sadism' (p. 9). As Susan Sontag (part II 2004b) points out with regard to the Abu Ghraib photographs, 'the horror of what is shown in the photographs cannot be separated from the horror that the photographs were taken—with the perpetrators posing, gloating, over their helpless captives' (pp. 26–27). For Sontag (2004a), their deep impact was 'not because of the photographs [themselves] but because of what the photographs reveal to be happening, happening with the complicity of a chain of command'. For Judith Butler, it is not the camera that is to blame, but the perpetrators and the military system that sanctioned their behaviour. With this line of argument, Butler (2010) seeks to shift our attention from the camera itself to the social structures that govern the production and circulation of violent images (and their reception) (pp. 74–75). In the context of occupied East Timor, we undertake a similar analysis: we consider the production, consumption and visual dynamics of the photographs, but also the extent to which the violence depicted—and the documentation of such violence—was enabled by a particular institutional culture. That is, we examine what the photographs tell us about visual forms of violence, as well as the mechanisms of power and domination that structure and permit such acts of violence to occur.

The production and consumption of torture photographs undoubtedly raises a number of difficult ethical questions: Butler (2007), for example, asks what it means to 'become ethically responsive, to consider and attend to the suffering of others, and, more generally, which frames permit the representability of the human and which do not?' (p. 951). These questions are pertinent not only for

those responsible for 'staging' the photographs, for 'acting' in them, and for 'consuming' them subsequently. They are also important when considering how, as researchers, we respond effectively to, represent and analyse these images from a distance. In the words of Sontag, the photographs 'haunt us': they make us *feel*, but what can they make us *do*? For Sontag (2003), we must begin by looking at the images, horrific as they are, and we must persist in doing so. It is only through this process of haunting that we can begin to understand that the photograph can be, she suggests, 'an invitation … to pay attention, reflect … examine the rationalisations for mass suffering offered by established powers' (p. 117). By locating these images within their particular institutional and historical context, and considering the exceptionality of the photographs in their depiction of teenage girls and young women, we might seek to uncover broader social and political norms that establish who is considered human and who is not, and who is entitled to human rights and who is not. As Butler (2007, p. 956) writes,

> how do the *norms* that govern which lives will be regarded as human lives and which will not, enter into the *frames* through which discourse and visual representation proceed, and how do these in turn delimit and orchestrate or foreclose ethical responsiveness to suffering?

Who were the people who took these photographs, and what can we infer from their relation to the images? Did they take the photographs with the intention that they would be disseminated and circulated? To serve as examples? To train others? Or simply to gloat; to document, to make evidence of these violent acts for both pleasure and proof? Central to considering these questions are the norms according to which security personnel acted as they did. What is less apparent simply by looking at a visual image is the precipitating (and subsequent) events: what happened before and after the photograph was taken? Was the photograph an 'action shot', or was it staged? It is unclear exactly when and where these photographs were taken; the names of the people within them are not included. We therefore have to reconstruct the narrative, to seek to identify the various scenes, and to make suppositions about the reasons why they were taken. These processes of reconstruction are made even more difficult by the fact that the faces of most of the figures are shrouded: we are left instead with photographs of people who are, for the most part, faceless and nameless.

The East Timor torture photographs

Photographs depicting executions, mutilated bodies, and the physical signs of torture, circulated inside East Timor throughout much of the occupation period. The practice of photographing the bodies of male victims of torture was common practice for Indonesian security forces and their auxiliaries, as

documented in the Final Report of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor (*Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor Leste*, CAVR).[4] The photographs smuggled out of East Timor in 1997, however, were distinct in several ways. First, several of the victims depicted in the photographs were young women. Previous photographs of violence and torture from inside East Timor, and particularly those that had circulated internationally, had almost exclusively featured male victims. Second, the language of violence depicted in the photographs was distinct in that it mounted an explicit attack against the Catholic Church in East Timor, as well as the winners of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize, José Ramos-Horta and Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo. This discursive shift correlates with a change in the structure and strategy of the East Timorese resistance more broadly: in the 1990s, a younger generation of East Timorese—of which the two female victims were likely a part—began to express publicly their opposition to the occupying regime (Fernandes 2011, pp. 125–144; Loney 2018, Chapter 5). Only a portion of this particular collection of 200 photographs were circulated internationally, but copies and negatives of most of the photographs are now available in the East Timor Collection of the late human rights campaigner, Dr Andrew McNaughton, at the Mitchell Library in Sydney.[5]

The full set of approximately 200 photographs depict a wide range of violent acts. The majority of the photographs depict male victims. In most cases, one male victim is positioned in the centre of the photograph, and one male perpetrator is shown to be undertaking some form of violent act against him: strangulation, beating, burning, as well as various forms of intimidation or humiliation. The photographs are mostly taken indoors, in dark rooms made of cement with few objects and no windows: a chair, a table, a chain, a broken stick, electrical cords, but very little else. A few photographs depict outdoor scenes, such as deceased victims being dumped into (mass) graves and half-buried. In most of the photographs, however, the victim is shown in a small, dark room, often in a prone position: lying on the floor; tied to a chair; hands tied with rope or chain. In numerous photographs, the victim takes up the lower portion of the photograph, while the perpetrator stands or leans over his (the perpetrators are exclusively male) victim.

Faces appear and disappear in different photographs. There are some groups of images showing the same victim, while one or more perpetrators move in and out of shots. In most of the photographs, the male victim's face is at least partly shown; there is a black cloth covering the victim's eyes in many of the photographs, but some also show the entire face covered by a larger piece of black material. The perpetrators are far less identifiable: in almost all photographs, their faces are not visible: either because they have turned away from the camera, or only parts of their bodies are captured in the image, usually the lower parts of the legs and torso clothed in army fatigues, and army boots on their feet. In all cases, the victims—both male and female—are partially or completely naked. The majority of the photographs

show most of the victim's naked body, sometimes using a closer shot to focus on a particular (and often injured) body part, or an act of violence being perpetrated against that body part.

The full collection of these photographs betrays a history of similar violence; they reveal some of this history, in the forms of violence done to the bodies of victims, and the performance and capture of these acts by perpetrators. Here, we focus on three photographs which depict female victims: the first two are images of the same woman, the third is of a teenage girl. We examine the acts taking place in these images and how these acts have been staged by their perpetrators. We undertake careful descriptions of each of the three images, not to focus on the horror and the torment that these photographs depict, but to try to understand 'the histories, the politics, the *world* that gave birth to [them]' (Linfield 2010, p. xvii). By looking at these atrocity images, we must see the violence in these photographs, but also look for traces of the institutions and processes that led to that violence. We are mindful, though, of the limited scope for this understanding, given the partial nature of photographs and archives (see McGregor, Chapter 2, and Protschky, Chapter 3 this volume). Further, we are mindful that these images were created as voyeuristic materials through which the victims' suffering were made into objects for consumption by the perpetrators. We sincerely aim to look at and analyse these photographs in a manner that does not reproduce or reinforce the degradation of this young woman and this teenage girl, whose images were captured without their consent in circumstances in which they were abused and debased in terrible ways.[6]

Three photographs: one young woman, one teenage girl

The first two images are of the same young woman. She is naked and lying on her back on a cement floor in both photographs, and neither show her face. In the first image, a soldier is leaning across her shoulders and his left arm and knee obscure her face. In the second image, a white sign is held over her face by two perpetrators—one on either side of her body—which reads 'long live the Nobel [prize winner]' (*Hidup hadia nobel*). In both images, only the lower parts of the body and the arms of the two soldiers are visible. The perpetrator on the right in the first image is clothed in full military uniform, his black boots shining from the camera's flash; the perpetrator on the left is wearing khaki pants with a light-coloured sweatshirt and white sneakers. In the second photograph, the two perpetrators have swapped places around the woman's body. On the floor next to the woman's body appear to be electrical cables, cloth, nails, and a splattering of a dark red substance (presumably blood).

What is most striking about these two images—and undoubtedly the focus of the man taking the photograph—is the contrast between the woman's naked body with the clothed bodies of the two male soldiers. The brightness of the flash brings her naked flesh at the centre of both images sharply into focus; the two men, in their dark uniforms in a dark room, are on the periphery in both

shots. In this sharp focus, what is immediately apparent is the writing, drawings and lacerations on the woman's body. Both images depict the woman on the floor, with the men leaning over her: the first is taken from the feet of the woman, so that the centre of the photograph is her genital area; the second is taken from her left side, looking down at her torso. From the images, not all of the writing on the woman's body is legible. Those parts which are legible are the phrases, 'This is her' or 'This is the one' (*ini dia*), written on the top of her right thigh; and 'stupid champion' (*jagoan bodoh*) on the top of her left thigh. A large cross has also been drawn across her stomach.

In both images, the prone body of the woman is very deliberately staged for the camera, as is the case for the majority of the photographs from this collection. The focus of this staging across the photographs moves from body parts and the weapons used by perpetrators, to attempt to depict the infliction of injury on particular parts of victims' bodies by bringing those body parts and weapons into contact. The first photograph of this woman is an example of the latter; the clear focus of the image, taken from the feet of the victim, is one of the perpetrators applying a lit cigarette to the top of the woman's vulva. The perpetrator in the white sneakers is standing between her legs so that they are forced apart, and so (presumably), the man taking the photograph is able to obtain a clear view of their victim's genital area.

The third image is of a teenage girl; we presume this age from the light blue skirt which she is wearing. Some of the female victims from this series of photographs are shown wearing parts of the Indonesian High School (*Sekolah Menengah Atas*, SMA) uniform: a light blue skirt and white shirt. This image differs somewhat from the other photographs in the collection in that it was taken outside. It is daylight in the photograph, and the victim and a soldier leaning over her are standing under trees; the light is dappled from the leaves above, creating patterns of light and shadow across the fabric of the victim's blue skirt. As in the majority of these photographs, in this image the girl is naked from the waist up, and her head is covered with black material. The victim is lying on her right side, her hands are tied by a blue cord in front her body. A soldier is standing behind her back, dressed in army fatigues and boots, and is bending down, his right fist making contact with the left side of her ribcage. The girl's body is framed in the centre of the photograph, but the focus of the image is on the injuries which circle her torso directly under and across her breasts. It is not clear how these injuries were caused; they seem to show thin but deep lacerations, perhaps from a wire or other materials tied around her body.

It is impossible to tell whether the two women in these photographs were alive or recently deceased at the time they were taken. Certainly, there is visual evidence of injury to their bodies, but whether they were fatal or not cannot be determined. The heads of the victims are obscured in all three photographs, so it is unclear as to whether they had sustained any injuries to this part of their bodies. The somewhat blurred focus of the photographs also makes it difficult to judge whether the discolouration on parts of the victims'

torsos and limbs is from contusions or livor mortis. From our examination of the entire collection of photographs, many of the images depict acts of torture against living victims; indeed, most show acts of violence against men who are reacting in some way to the torture being done to them. Other photographs, however, depict victims who are clearly deceased. One set of photographs, for example, shows the bodies of victims dumped in shallow graves, while another group are of deceased individuals wrapped in burial cloth. For the young woman and girl in the three photographs under examination here, however, it is unclear whether they were alive or dead at the time the photographs were taken.

Sexual and visual dynamics

The first questions that we must ask when looking at these photographs are: what are they? Why were they taken? And for whom? According to internal Indonesian military documents from 1982, captured by the resistance and publicised by solidarity organisations internationally, security forces in East Timor were advised to: 'Avoid taking photographs showing torture in progress (people being photographed at times when they are being subjected to electric current, when they have been stripped naked, etc.)'.[7] The advice in this document betrays the routine nature of this abuse. Throughout the occupation, torture was regularly used by the Indonesian military and their proxies against East Timorese victims, often with the accusation that they were supporters of self-determination (CAVR 2013; Loney 2018; Stanley 2009). Indeed, tens of thousands of East Timorese were taken to be tortured in military command posts, prisons and special interrogation centres set up across the territory. Yet what prompted those involved in torturing these victims to stage and create these photographs?[8]

We know that Indonesian soldiers posted to East Timor sometimes took photographs of their victims (CAVR 2013). As we explore further below, from their research undertaken with survivors of torture, the CAVR team found that these photographs seem to have been taken for numerous reasons: as personal mementos for soldiers; as items of trade amongst security service personnel; and, critically, as an integral part of their victims' 'public humiliation and cruel treatment' (CAVR 2013, p. 2016). Over the years of occupation, the East Timorese resistance managed to obtain copies of some of these images and smuggle them out to international solidarity groups, who would then circulate them—often in a sustained and coordinated fashion to ensure 'maximum media exposure'—around the world (see, for example, Loney 2017).[9] The same was true of this collection of approximately 200 photographs. These images were taken by soldiers involved in the torture depicted in the photographs. Although it is not possible to identify the soldiers themselves, several individuals are discernible from their body shapes and clothing as they move in and out of shots. In those groups of photographs which depict torture against a particular individual, it seems that two or more perpetrators take it in turns to

either take photographs or be photographed with their victim. Thus, we can discern that these images were produced by the men participating in the torture. These photographs were produced as artefacts so that they may be consumed by those directly involved in the violent acts depicted, but also potentially for other men, perhaps their peers and their commanders.

The highly sexual and visual elements are key in staging and creating these photographs to specifically show the acts of violence in which the men are involved. The focus of the images is always the naked bodies of their victims, the weapons they are using against them, and the injuries caused. The first photograph, for example, is taken so that the pubic hair, vulva, inner thighs, breasts and stomach of the woman take up the lower half and centre of the shot. The act of pressing a lit cigarette into the flesh of the woman's vulva is at the very centre of the image, and purposely so: the men involved in staging their victim and creating the photograph have coordinated their actions in order to achieve this image. One has knelt down to cover her face in the background, one has pushed apart the woman's legs so that he can stand between them and burn her with the cigarette in the foreground, and the man taking the photograph has arranged his position in order to capture all of these elements. In the second image of the same woman, they have rearranged themselves to stage another photograph. This time, the two men in the photograph have swapped places and now hold a sign above her face. The man taking the photograph has moved to her side so that the writing and drawing on her body, and the writing on the white sign—along with their victim's upper thighs, pubic hair, stomach and breasts—are the focus of the image they are creating together.

In the third image of the girl with lacerations encircling her ribcage, her blue high-school skirt is a central element of the photograph's production: it signals that the soldiers have done this violence to a teenage girl. Her inferred age marked by the skirt, contrasted with her naked chest, is part of the sexualisation of the girl's body. Her skirt has been left on as deliberate titillation for staging the photograph, as a sign perhaps of both the aggravated harm done to someone so young, but also of the heightened voyeuristic element *because* it is harm done to someone so young. It is the attempt to sexualise and display these ruined, naked bodies that drives these perpetrators to stage their victims in the ways that they do. Posing these bodies in these ways create images that excite by making and commemorating their violence against, domination over, and humiliation of, their victims.

There are strong homosocial elements to the performance and enactment of creating these photographs. In the first two photographs—as in numerous others from this collection, particularly those which show two or more perpetrators moving in and out of shot—the two men in the photograph and the (at least one) other man taking the photographs have constructed these images together. It is a performance of male group aggression, the type of which has been studied in other circumstances, including group or multiple assailant rapes. In these comparable studies, the dynamics between the (usually young) men taking part as multiple assailants are foregrounded, while the treatment

of, and interaction with, the victim—usually a woman, but also a feminised 'other', such as a gay man or a younger or weaker male—is seen as a staging ground for this male-to-male interaction (see, for example, Bourgois 2003; Franklin 2004). The woman in the first two photographs—a woman who seems unconscious or possibly deceased—is reduced to a prop for the men to use for their interactions with one another; conversing and planning their photographs, watching one another enact their shared violence.[10] In her study of group rape within fraternity culture in the United States, Peggy Reeves Sanday (1990) highlights how the victim is depersonalised and made insignificant when compared with the interactions between the men performing the violence. She writes: 'A group of men watch each other having sex with a woman who may be unconscious. One might well ask why the woman is even necessary for the sexual acts these men stage for one another' (p. 12). Debasing, harming and humiliating their victim is an act which the men in the photographs commit to inflict pain upon her, but also to perform for one another; the victims in the photographs are made into objects that are used by their abusers to build and cement homosocial bonds. The photograph supplies, in the words of Pierre Bourdieu, 'the means of solemnizing those climatic moments of social life in which the group solemnly reaffirms its unity': it binds the group, and binds them together as men (Bourdieu and Boltanski, 2005, pp. 20–21). Critically, their behaviour is also taking place within an environment where there are socialised norms that support and encourage these acts.[11]

There are a number of sexualised and visualised processes at work in the staging and creation of these images. These men are creating objects: first, of fetish through the violence done against these women's bodies; second, of scopophilic consumption through the production of the photographs; and third, these photographs are trophies which can be kept and circulated. First, these women's bodies are made into fetish objects through the singular, hard focus on specific body parts in the creation of these images. The positioning of the victims' bodies—the lengths that the perpetrators go to in order to situate themselves and their weapons, and the injuries they have inflicted, at the centre of these images—all show that their victims are now reduced to fleshy artefacts which these men can play with, cut into, or cut off because that is all they are, essentially and simply, things. These women are no longer persons, they are detached from the individuals that they are/were and how they came to be tortured at the hands of these men, and they are now—extruded of their personhood—fetishised, abject objects. This fetishisation is deeply sexualised: the focus of the men is on the naked bodies of the young women, with particular parts of their victims' bodies—the vulva, pubic area, stomach, and breasts, parts which most particularly identify them as women—are consistently positioned in the centre of not only the camera's shot, but are also the locus for the violence that they are enacting and documenting.

Second, these men are consciously creating scopophilic materials. The camera the perpetrators use to create these images offers them a spectatorial voyeurism beyond the moments in which they tortured their victims. This

technology allows them a way to carry out their work of harming and humiliating their victims, while also documenting and preserving their acts. They may have performed these acts for one another as part of homosocial behaviours at the time, but the film and the camera mean that their performance can be captured and commemorated well beyond. In this sense, the camera provides a mechanism for commodifying those original acts of victimisation. Again, this commodification of victimisation is deeply sexualised. The rendering of these torturous acts, in which the victims' bodies are reduced to fetishised body parts, into photographs creates scopophilic objects, things that they (and potentially others) may take pleasure from viewing. The production of scopophilic materials requires a physical and psychological distance between the voyeur and the object of his gaze. The immediacy of their pleasure in the moment can now live on as later pleasure as well, for themselves and others. In this way, the deliberate humiliation and depersonalisation of their victims is now one in which others can vicariously partake (see Mantziari 2010).

Lastly, these images reveal a need on the part of perpetrators to craft trophies or mementos from their torture. They have created consumable objects by making these photographs. These objects may be kept, shared and circulated amongst themselves and potentially far beyond: to fellow soldiers, superiors and others. Trophy-taking is behaviour seen amongst perpetrators of violence in various settings, such as by soldiers during war, those who participate in lynching, genocidaires and, indeed, by serial criminal offenders, such as serial rapists (see, for example, Harrison 2012; Perera 2014; Warren, Dietz and Hazelwood 2013; Young 2005). Trophy-taking can include a wide range of collecting practices, and the materials collected and preserved also cover numerous physical and ephemeral targets. Such trophies may be body parts, items of clothing or other personal effects belonging to victims, or they may be things created, such as photographs, sketches, recordings, written descriptions, or some other form of memento.[12]

When trophies are taken, the context is critical. In other human trophy-taking traditions, these practices serve a variety of purposes, such as being an important part of custom or ritual (see Chacon and Dye 2007; Hoskins 1996). Within the context of mass violence, however, such as war and occupation, the collection of human trophies should be understood as part of interactions with perceived enemies. As Simon Harrison (2006) found in his study of American soldiers' skull-collecting in the Pacific theatre of the Second World War, this human trophy-taking went beyond the '"normal" and widely practised looting of corpses'; rather, it was 'a common and generally accepted military practice: namely the taking of possessions from prisoners and enemy dead' (pp. 826, 825). The analogies with animal hunting are present, and the taking of human trophies in war may, in many ways, be seen as part of treating enemies as sub-human. Indeed, as Harrison (2012) shows, the similarities between the 'successful hunting party' returning 'home in a triumphal procession … [with] the animal's head' is all too comparable with the decapitation and display of enemies (p. 22). Human trophy-taking from enemies during war, however, is not simply about

treating these enemies like animals. Rather, it is a device 'to mask or deny [their] humanness' in order to categorise enemies as (an often racialised) other and to sure up the boundaries of one's own group (Harrison 2006, p. 831).

The context in which the photographs under consideration here were taken was that of Indonesian-occupied East Timor. They were produced towards the end of that 24-year occupation, at a time when the Indonesian occupying forces—with the cooperation of locally recruited security service personnel and militia—had developed a well-organised and run system of detention and interrogation facilities. As the CAVR (2013) found, over the years of occupation, the patterns of detention (and torture and other forms of abuses) showed that tens of thousands of East Timorese were rounded up and held both arbitrarily in groups and, over time, in more targeted attacks against individuals (pp. 526–531).[13] From their investigation, the CAVR concluded that the overwhelming majority of these many thousands of cases of torture and ill-treatment had been perpetrated by the Indonesian military, police and their East Timorese auxiliaries (pp. 2362–2369). What this means is that those security service personnel who manned the interrogation and detention centres had spent years torturing the East Timorese brought into those centres, and that this abuse was a regular feature of detention. As one United Nations report argued, 'Torture and ill-treatment, like unlawful killing, had for years been part of standard Indonesian counter-insurgency strategy in Timor-Leste [… and] were also used, as they had been for many years, as methods for extracting information about the pro-independence movement' (Robinson 2006, paras. 124–125).[14]

Ostensibly targeted against resistance fighters and their supporters, this broad network of interrogation and detention centres had much wider social pedagogical functions. As Elizabeth Stanley (2009) has argued, 'Torture formed a central plank of Indonesian control', and this including terrifying and subjugating the East Timorese population as a whole (p. 80). Françoise Sironi and Raphaëlle Branche (2002) call this practice 'intelligence torture', a euphemism for violence intended to destroy a culture and a nation: 'Through the torture victim, the aim is to reach the group to which the victim belongs … It is the collective dimension of the individual that is attached, the attachment of a group' (pp. 539–540). In this sense, the Indonesian soldiers were taking trophies from their East Timorese victims, people who were not only those whom they had come to colonise but, moreover, were 'socially … remote and classified as semi-human', others who were to be brought under their rule (Harrison 2012, p. 5). And indeed, as Benedict Anderson (1993) has convincingly argued, it was this process of 'othering', a 'deep inability to imagine East Timor as Indonesian', that was at the heart of the failure of the Indonesian integrationist project (para. 6). This meant, as Anderson has demonstrated, that the Indonesian government was 'unable to incorporate East Timor imaginatively, in the broader, popular sense', and thereby surreptitiously produced East Timorese nationalism (para. 9). But in the minds of Indonesian security personnel, we suggest, it also essentially created the space

for ruthless, cruel and brutal acts that one simply would not and could not inflict upon another human being. To the perpetrators of this violence, the East Timorese were not only 'not' Indonesian; indeed, they were not human.

Conclusion

It is not possible to confirm the identities of the men who produced these photographs. It is likely, however, that they were Indonesian soldiers who had taken part in the torture of many, many East Timorese people brought into detention for their (real or perceived) role in the resistance. While we have examined in depth only three of the set of 200 photographs in this chapter, the collection as a whole shows scores of other victims. These three photographs show us only two perpetrators (those whom we can distinguish from the clothes that they are wearing), but in the collection as a whole, again, there are approximately ten different men shown; most wearing army fatigues and black boots, but some wearing particular items of clothing which allows us to tell them apart. This collection of photographs, therefore, appears to be the creation of a relatively small group of men, mostly those who appear in them doing harm to their victims or disposing of bodies.

How far these photographs circulated between or beyond these men is unknown, just as there is no way to know how many other photographs these men (and others stationed with them, or in similar detention facilities) may have taken. These photographs also cannot reveal how many victims they tortured beyond the scores captured within those frames, nor their victims' fates after the photographs were taken. From the lengths that these men went to in order to create these photographs, however, we suggest that they had at least some meaning to them. The photographs are, for the most part, staged shots that demonstrate the absolute power that the perpetrators believed they had over their victims. Perhaps these photographs were only trophies to be kept for personal consumption; created to capture and preserve their performance, their harm and humiliation of their victims, but also their comradery. Perhaps they were produced as commodities to be shared or traded. Perhaps the photographs were created so that the perpetrators could, later on, remember and relive their work with pride or pleasure.

Whatever their intent when these men produced these images, what is clear is that the photographs were purposefully and creatively made. As with the numerous written and oral testimonies of survivors published throughout the occupation, the photographs provide proof of the deep violence that characterised the Indonesian invasion and military occupation of East Timor, as well as the explicitly gendered and visual forms that this violence took. The three images that we have examined here are particularly shocking because of the gender and age of the victims. These features in and of themselves make the images horrifying to the viewer, but they are also somewhat of an anomaly within the collection more broadly, and thus compel us to think about them more deeply. In these particular images—as distinct from others within

the collection—the victims are inert, seemingly unresponsive to the violence being inflicted upon them. The soldiers, on the other hand, are at ease with the camera; they are playing to it.

Moreover, the soldiers' confidence and voyeuristic pleasure conveys a sense that they perceive that the victims deserved to be humiliated and tormented in this way. These photographs, therefore, can be seen as traces of a regime of violence; they shed light upon how the Indonesian military's organisational structure and prevailing ideology enabled and indeed encouraged particular *forms* of violence. The photographs tell us that, despite the advice outlined in Indonesian military manuals for East Timor, Indonesian military and security personnel felt justified in employing torture and in documenting it. But these photographs alone, of course, are not enough. They cannot, as Susan Sontag (2003) writes, 'possibly encompass most of the reality to which they refer' (p. 115). And yet, as she suggests, 'they still perform a vital function. The images say: "This is what human beings are capable of doing – may volunteer to do, enthusiastically, self righteously. Don't forget"' (2003, p. 115). While only able to convey traces of what they depict—the dark rooms and instruments of torture, the pain and humiliation of the victims, and the pleasure and ease with which the perpetrators inflict this violence—these photographs show us glimpses of the types of sexualised and gendered torture carried out by the Indonesian security services against tens of thousands of East Timorese during the 24-year military occupation of the territory.

Notes

1 In this chapter, we focus explicitly upon the production, consumption and visual dynamics of the photographs. In a forthcoming publication, we examine the provenance of the photographs, their international circulation and display, and their place within East Timorese solidarity networks more broadly.
2 For one exception, see McCosker (2013, pp. 59–69). Some of the solidarity materials that reproduced these images also offered brief analyses of the photographs. See, for example, A Paz é Possível em Timor Leste (1997).
3 On images of atrocity, their power and their limits for understanding, see Linfield (2010).
4 For examples and a discussion of this, see CAVR (2013, pp. 805, 963, 1546, 1565, 2007, 2015–2017).
5 Permission for the authors to view the full collection of photographs contained within the Dr Andrew McNaughton papers concerning East Timor, 1976–2003 (MLMSS 7714) at the Mitchell Library was granted by the nominated person for his estate on 3 and 4 July 2018. The authors viewed these photographs on 4 July 2018.
6 On the 'pornography' of atrocity photographs see, for example, Seluka (1984), Jameson (1992), Sontag (1990), Tait (2008) and Linfield (2010).
7 Military Region Command XVI, Udayana, Military Resort Command (Korem) 164, Wira Dharma, "On Torture, and How to Keep it Secret," Established Procedure No. PROTAP/01-B/VII/1982, Subject: Method of Interrogating Prisoners. In *TAPOL Bulletin,* Special Supplement No. 58 (July 1983), p. 7.
8 The CAVR collected thousands of personal statements by survivors and witnesses of torture and ill-treatment in Timor-Leste, their analysis of this data is in CAVR

(2013) specifically Vol. III, Part 7.4: Detention, Torture and Ill-Treatment, 1367–1711. The Commission's statement-taking work identified 8,508 victims of torture and 6,872 victims of ill-treatment (p. 1386).

9 AMcN, "Photographic Evidence of Human Rights Violations Against Women," Darwin, 17 November 1997. In Folder 196, "Photos: Women", Box 17, East Timor Collection of the Late Dr Andrew McNaughton at the Mitchell Library, Sydney. For one solidarity campaign output which compiled a sample of images from throughout the occupation period, see East Timor International Support Centre (1997a).

10 For Sedgewick, this kind of interaction sits on a continuum between homosocial bonding and homosexual desire, and many examples of male homosociality are created around the violent rejection of homosexuality. See Sedgwick (1985).

11 In another piece (in preparation), we examine the types of torture shown in these photographs within a longer continuum of torture practices under the New Order regime. In that piece, we go further into the institutional and social norms which enabled these types of violence.

12 Trophies may also be temporary or long-lasting, and some trophies may pass through several stages; a head on a spike will rot, but then can be dried out as a skull and preserved. See, for example, Harrison (2006). The research on individual serial offenders and the collection of materials to fulfil paraphilic desires is more extensive. See, for example, Hazelwood and Warren (2000) and Warren, Dietz and Hazelwood (2013, pp. 667–670).

13 The *Chega!* report breaks up the patterns of these abuses into three main periods: 1975 to 1984, then 1985 to 1998, and 1999 (CAVR 2013, pp. 532–534). These photographs were taken towards the end of the second period.

14 This report was submitted in 2003, but was revised and appeared as an annex to CAVR (2013).

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5 Memory on stage

Affect, gender and the performative in 1965–66 survivor testimonies

Wulan Dirgantoro and Barbara Hatley

Despite the passing of time and the dismantling of the New Order regime after 1998, public discussion of the state-based violence of the anti-communist killings and imprisonments of 1965–66 in Indonesia remains largely suppressed. The stories and the experiences of victims are deemed to be too dangerous to be told. Nonetheless, the situation is slowly changing as awareness of the 1965–66 events begins to extend to the younger generation. Young Indonesians of the second and third generation, in particular children and grandchildren of survivors, want to recover the truth of what occurred in the past. They seek to understand their relatives' experiences of family disruption and trauma. Others outside the family circle wish to comprehend this stain of historical violence that continues to haunt Indonesian society today.

Gendered power played a vital role in the 1965–66 violence and its aftermath through the New Order's state propaganda. This propaganda demonised members of the Communist-linked women's organisation, Gerwani, and was then used by the state apparatus as justification for the brutal victimisation and sexual exploitation of such women and their families. It greatly influenced the lives of the children and grandchildren of survivors, for example, through the experiences of mothers torn from them by imprisonment or who struggled to raise them alone after the capture of their fathers. However, gendered violence is a particularly challenging issue in attempts to recover the stories of victims and learn about the past, as it often involves experiences too painful for survivors to recall and too shameful to discuss with others.

This chapter examines the way in which theatre, in the form of two Indonesian language plays, can serve as a medium for recalling and representing gendered violence and the experience of women victims/survivors of the events of 1965–66. We argue that artistic and cultural activities are effective means for engaging with the 1965–66 events: they communicate information and tell stories, while also opening up the space for emotional identification with survivors through the portrayal of their experiences in an imaginative form. Moreover, these forms of art provide opportunity for the participation of survivors themselves.[1] The strategies and dramatic devices of theatre performances, as demonstrated in the following discussion, offer particularly fruitful possibilities for these processes.

We focus on two plays, *Gejolak Makam Keramat* (Turmoil at the Sacred Grave, hereafter *GMK*), devised and produced by visual artist Agung Kurniawan and theatre director Irfanuddien Ghozali; and *Nyanyi Sunyi Kembang-Kembang Genjer* (Silent Song of Genjer Flowers) written and directed by playwright Faiza Mardzuki. In these plays, the directors—in collaboration with female survivors—develop a strategy of remembering through the medium of performance. Our analysis will draw on Marianne Hirsch's concept of postmemory, a process through which the recollected experience of particularly traumatic or painful events is transmitted to the next generation in such a profound way as to create traumatic memories in their own right (Hirsch 2008, 2012). Following Hirsch, the chapter will focus on the trope of the family as a critical site for the intergenerational transmission of historical trauma.

The discussion begins by reviewing the historical background of the anti-communist killings of 1965–66 and the gender-based violence occurring in this context, then moves on to address the role of theatre in memorialising historical trauma. Subsequently, we compare the differing artistic articulations in the two plays, examining their content and form: *Nyanyi Sunyi*, in which actors relay survivors' testimonies; and *GMK*, which involves real-life survivors as performers and audience members as participants. Finally, we review the experiential impact of the plays through a discussion of audience members' reactions to these theatrical events. Through different approaches, the two plays recall the gendered violence of 1965–66 in ways which celebrate the strength of women survivors and memorialise their legacy for future generations.

Gender-based violence and the anti-communist killings of 1965–66

In the aftermath of the failed coup attempt of 30 September 1965, there were widespread mass killings and imprisonments by the military and state-sponsored groups targeting people with actual or reputed connections with the Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, PKI).[2] One organisation victimised for its association with the PKI was the Indonesian Women's Movement (*Gerakan Wanita Indonesia*, henceforth Gerwani). This progressive women's group advocated for women's education and improved welfare in daily life. Saskia Wieringa (2002) argues that the organisation also pushed gender norms by advocating for women's political rights and their participation in public life.

In the aftermath of the 1965–66 events, many women imprisoned as Gerwani members experienced sexual violence in the form of rape, mutilation and torture, sexual slavery, forced abortion, and sexual humiliation (Dwyer 2004; Komnas Perempuan 2007; Pohlman 2013, 2017; Wieringa 2002). Yet the pain of recollecting and shame about these events often prevents victims from mentioning them even to close family members. This sense of shame is compounded by the social marginalisation that many of these women and their family members experienced in the aftermath of the violence. These challenges in speaking about their experiences often lead to the assumption

that women victims had been rendered speechless from the trauma, had forgiven the perpetrators, or had moved on from the dark past (Dwyer 2004).

Thus, the violence perpetrated on women's bodies has been destructive not only physically, but also on a cultural and political level, as physical force has produced other forms of symbolic violence that is heavily gendered. While international human rights movements have exposed the role of state-sponsored violence, feminist scholars have argued that women's everyday realities and lived experiences of violence are often silenced or marginalised within human rights discourses (Jacobs, Jacobson and Marchbank 2000; Kelly 2000; Sanford, Stefatos and Salvi 2016). Indeed, gender strongly shapes survivors' experiences and how they articulate this dark past. For example, Annie Pohlman (2008) observes that when women survivors speak about their experiences, they often use particular narrative devices such as euphemisms and avoidance strategies, and distance themselves from the event by relaying the stories of abuses that occurred to other women.

Nonetheless, in the post-Reformasi era, some women survivors began to tell their stories in the forms of oral history projects and memoirs (Bustam 2008; McGregor and Hearman 2007; Sujinah 2000). Within these narratives, we can see how gender also shaped their experience of survival. For example, in families where men had been imprisoned, killed or disappeared, women were often forced to shoulder the burden of caring for themselves and their children alone or in cooperation with other widows (Hearman 2012; Kolimon, Wetangterah and Campbell-Nelson 2015; Lestari 2014; Nadue 2014). To support themselves and their children, women survivors often found work in factories, as seamstresses, opened small food stalls or joined co-ops with other women survivors. As long as they did not reveal their status as ex-political prisoners or as a *janda PKI* (PKI widow),[3] most women were able to make just enough to cover their day-to-day living.

Significantly, the domestic (and practical) aspects of life, such as caring for the family, are deeply interwoven within the broader testimonies on the gendered dimensions of the 1965–66 violence (Bustam 2008; Pohlman 2013; Sutarni 2014). In line with Hirsch's methodology on the gendered aspect of postmemory (Hirsch 2008), our discussion of the case studies show that the representation of women's voices validates women's experiences of the world and empowers them to shed their historical position of inferiority and neglect. Indeed, the very act of telling empowers them.

Theatre and memory works: representing historical trauma

Theatre performances, presented by live actors and watched collectively by a group of viewers, constitute a particularly effective medium for creating a sense of empathy and involvement among audience members and opening up an understanding of past events. In the words of Erin Hurley (2010), 'doing things with feeling is the primary reason for the theatre's existence […] It is what makes theatre matter' (p. 4). In the Indonesian context, long-standing

connections between performances and social life, in celebrating key family and community events, conveying social and political commentary, may give added strength to this sense of real-life connection and involvement.

Despite the ongoing challenges of representing the topic of 1965–66 publicly, in recent years, a number of theatre performances, along with other forms of creative expression, have addressed the violence, trauma and loss resulting from this violent period. These include a spectacular 2005 *ketoprak* (Javanese language popular theatre) performance, portraying allegorically the political conflict leading up to the events of 1965 and their dramatic aftermath; a play, *Jaran Sungsang*, also staged in 2005, which depicts the demonisation and brutal killing of an *anak PKI*, a child of PKI parents;[4] and *Mwathirika* (2010), a puppet theatre performance, which tells the tragic story of a father, imprisoned because of a fleeting, incidental PKI association, and the devastating impact this has on his two young children and the child of a neighbour (Hatley 2009, 2016; Lis 2018).

As demonstrated above, through a variety of theatrical devices, theatre can explore the possibilities of performances grounded in real historical events. The physical connection to the past that might be facilitated through an actor's body is potentially a meaningful and productive medium for engaging with that past and creating historical meaning. As Freddie Rokem (2000) has suggested, in representations of traumatic pasts in theatre, the character's victimisation on stage provides audience members with the emotional space for identification and involvement at a distance, where theatre can turn into a 'dialectical antidote to the destructive energies of history and its painful failure' (pp. 204, 192; see also Rokem 2015).

For this chapter, it is important to note that artistic practice is best understood for its capacity to agitate at the level of sensation and as a force that propels a demand to know more (Bennett 2005). The communicative model of art with its focus on impact, message or precise revelation often relies on the direct representation of violence in order to raise awareness of the issues at hand, yet arguably the stimulation of affect is what compels the audience to think and be engaged at every level. As a form of artistic expression, theatre's focus on affect embraces its transformative potential for intellectual inquiry through its assault on senses, emotions and bodies (Thompson 2009, p. 137). For example, in *Jaran Sungsang*, the audience is confronted by the savage violence enacted on stage. In one scene, the actor playing the PKI victims' son, a member of a horse dance group, goes berserk when taunted about his PKI connections and is beaten to death by his fellow dancers. The young people then express agonised distress and remorse as they realise the terrible significance of what they have done. The visceral shock experienced by audience members is palpable even in the video-recorded version of the performance viewed by the writers. The play was able to convey to the audience the senseless violence that many testimonies of 1965–66 events have documented.

Theatre also utilises non-verbal language as part of a dynamic process internally directed towards 'making sense' (Welton 2012, p. 10). In *Mwathirika*,

members of the group Paper Moon Puppet Theatre successfully engage the audience's empathy in focusing on parent–child relations and through the emotionally caring way the human handlers of the puppets manipulate their charges. The performance's exploration of loss and parent–child relations draws on the traumatic experiences of many Indonesian families during the 1965–66 events. The plays also represent a way of making sense of a lost past. In doing so, these creative practices echo Hirsch's (2008) discussion of the role of the family as a site for the transgenerational transmission of memory and gender as an idiom of remembrance. The trope of the family in post-Holocaust artistic expression by the second generation represents an ideal of 'before'; that is, before the Holocaust. In exploring this trope most works reflect a profound loss of safety in the world, a child's sense of confusion and responsibility, as well as the desire to repair and restore (Hirsch 2008, p. 112).

Hirsch invites us to consider how the family is embedded in the collective imaginary. She argues that in creative practices such as photography or visual arts, an affiliative sense of connection is transmitted to the postmemory generation through the universality of the trope of family (Hirsch 2008, pp. 113–114; Hirsch 2012). Indeed theatre, as a powerful form of storytelling and a conduit for empathy, has the potential to create a postmemory connection between the spectator, the survivor and the actor, even if its stories are rarely transmitted directly from the trauma survivor. In the plays discussed below, *Nyanyi Sunyi Kembang-Kembang Genjer* and *GMK*, the resources of theatre in telling stories, its affective power and ability to create postmemory, are drawn on in differing ways to recall the occurrence of gendered violence and its impact on women victims/survivors and the family in the context of 1965–66.

The plays

Nyanyi Sunyi Kembang-Kembang Genjer

Nyanyi Sunyi Kembang-Kembang Genjer was staged at the Goethe Haus in Jakarta in March 2014 in commemoration of International Women's Day. The play was performed over three nights and watched by audiences estimated by its playwright and director Faiza Mardzuki to number about 1,000. They consisted of invited 1965–66 survivors and their families, as well as members of the general public, including many young people. In a short film about the making of her play, Faiza explained that the play was inspired by a meeting with a woman survivor of 1965, Bu Umi Sarjono, former head of Gerwani. Alone and in ill-health, Bu Sarjono's circumstances were pitiful, Faiza explained, yet her account of her own past experiences and the achievements of her organisation were amazing. It presented a picture of Gerwani contrasting entirely with the monstrous image that Faiza had learned about at school: here instead was a story of awe-inspiring feminist activism and its savage, inhuman repression, demanding to be told. As a feminist activist and a playwright, Faiza had a clear mission to create a play that revealed the truth of the events of

1965. She subsequently conducted interviews with 30 survivors, visiting them and their families in their homes. Faiza observed how they lived out their old age, from how they interacted with one another to how they dressed. All of this fed into a single story combining these women's memories, elements from 1965 survivor testimonies that Faiza had read, and her intimate knowledge of and relations with her survivor subjects. Commitment to voicing the stories of 1965 survivors and transmitting them to the next generation is the explicit theme of the play itself. A grandmother wants her granddaughter to know the full story of her life in order to be able to move on, unburdened by the shadow of dark, unspoken secrets. She invites a group of fellow women survivors to help give her the strength to tell the tale.

As the play opens, a young woman is standing in front of a figure lying across a bed, whom the young woman addresses as Eyang (grandmother). As Eyang hugs a doll and calls sadly, 'Rachmah, Rachmah', her granddaughter explains to the audience that Rachmah was her mother. In separate short monologues from Eyang and her granddaughter, we learn the story of Rachmah's birth after Eyang, three months pregnant, was captured and imprisoned in the anti-communist reprisals of late 1965. Not wanting her daughter to grow up in prison, Eyang left her in the care of a distant relative, agreeing reluctantly that Rachmah should be told nothing about her parentage so that she could grow up normally, free from the burden of political stain. When Eyang was finally released, she always hoped that somehow, she would meet up again with her daughter. One day an old woman came together with a small child to the little food stall Eyang had set up to make a living. The woman was the distant relative from Eyang's past and the child Rachmah's daughter Ming. Eyang experienced a burst of joy on learning that she had a granddaughter. Yet this joy instantly turned to grief when she heard that Rachmah had died of depression after her husband found out she was the child of a political prisoner and left her.

Later in the evening, Eyang states that it is time that she told Ming everything about herself. Grandmother and granddaughter sit close, with Ming tightly holding onto the doll that Eyang cherishes so dearly. Eyang talks about her husband, Bung Daryo, an artist, poet and also a committed activist. They met through their common political activism, like many young people at that time, in newly independent Indonesia. The couple married and were delighted when, after a long wait, Eyang became pregnant. However, Bung Daryo never got to see his daughter; Eyang's eyes fill with tears as she relates that he disappeared after the October 1965 events and she has never seen or heard of him since. Ming asks a question that has long troubled her; namely, whether the horrible stories about Gerwani members dancing naked and performing sadistic acts were true. Why were such lying images circulated of Eyang and her friends as immoral, cruel women? Eyang states with great feeling that she does not know; she can only relate their devastating impact. As the background screen plays photographs of newspaper stories and film images from that time, she explains how the spread of such news paralysed the movement and how right up until the present day these lying stories have never been refuted.

The next morning more details are revealed both of the activities and ideals of Gerwani members and the atrocities that they later suffered. One of the expected guests, Sumilah, reminisces happily about her delight in performing dances with the other young men and women in her village, then marching and singing patriotic songs at the invitation of the President himself. She then recounts how it all changed one morning at dawn when soldiers forced the young women at gunpoint into trucks. They took them to a field, stripped off their clothes and left them for two days without food or water. Physically and verbally abused, they were treated worse than animals.

When Ming and her grandmother arrive onstage, Eyang and Sumilah embrace warmly, then recite the oath that the women prisoners at Plantungan prison developed together to sustain their spirits. However, when Eyang asks if Ming is ready to listen to her friends' stories, Sumilah explodes angrily, 'What's the use of talking over and over again about those terrible times?'. 'So that my granddaughter will know so that the world will know', Eyang replies. 'What if all the whole world knows about our suffering? Will anything change for us?' Sumilah demands. For a moment the two women turn away from one another, distressed and angry, but quickly reconcile, acknowledging that they must stand together and support one another, as stated in their oath. The issue of their disagreement, however, over the impact of recalling painful stories from the past and who has the right to do so, remains unresolved.

The arrival of two more friends is met with excited greetings, warm embraces, talk of children and grandchildren and the painful illnesses of old age. A wondrous moment of recollection of their youth as Eyang sings the opening verses of the Gerwani song, *Genjer-Genjer*, is followed by bitter reflection on its subsequent banning and vilification. While Ming is briefly offstage, the other women ask if Eyang has yet told Ming the story she has been keeping to herself all these years. This is why she has asked her friends to gather, Eyang replies, to give her the strength to overcome her fear and shame and tell the story. Her friends warmly pledge their support.

The women sing with spirited enthusiasm the anthem composed in Bukit Duri prison, *Salam Harapan* (Hopeful Greetings), conveying a message of hope and tenacious survival. Eyang and Ming sit down together, and Eyang commences her story. She explains how one day the prison commandant asked her to cook and clean for him, then sexually assaulted her. Such assaults occurred repeatedly, causing her to become pregnant. Eyang gave birth to a baby boy, but could not bear to look at the child, and gave him away to a family in a nearby village. Distraught and tearful, Ming asks why Eyang has not told her this story until now. Rather than answering, Eyang tells the story of the doll which was made out of scraps of cloth in Bukit Duri prison a few days after Rachmah was taken from her. While making the doll, she would continuously pray that one day she would meet up with Rachmah, intending it for her. However, Rachmah never saw the doll. Eyang states that she feels relieved. She has told her story, released the troubling secrets from within her soul. Her task is finished; she has raised her granddaughter from a

girl to a young woman. As she hands the doll to Ming, the legacy of her grandmother and mother has been passed on to the granddaughter. Ming speaks with new confidence. She too now feels relief in knowing Eyang's story. The song Eyang once sang alone now echoes through her whole being. She will always remember her grandmother's advice to smile on life, despite all the bitterness it throws up in order to remain strong and brave. The stage darkens, signalling the conclusion of the play.

Even though the play has ended, the audience is invited to continue celebrating the broader event, commemorating International Women's Day through a celebration of the lives of the 1965 women survivors. Footage in the film about the making of the play shows the performers entering the auditorium, embracing elderly survivors in the audience and presenting them with flower bouquets. Actors and audience members, old and young, chat animatedly. The song *Salam Harapan* is sung vigorously and joyfully, with everyone joining in, followed by loud applause. Amidst the general atmosphere of celebration, audience members interviewed express their reactions to the experience of watching the play. A young woman tearfully reports that she has cried throughout, intensely angry at the injustice suffered by her women forebears; a male literary figure, Arswendo, speaks of the strength and naturalness of the acting. A survivor expresses profound thanks for the play but is then unable to continue speaking, overwhelmed by emotion; another expresses great gratitude to the playwright and actors and admiration of their achievement.

Maternal loss and restorative acts in Nyanyi Sunyi

Nyanyi Sunyi Kembang-Kembang Genjer as a realist play presents the stories of 1965 women victims/survivors through monologue, dialogue, and stage interaction. The experiences of the characters, narrating the forms of sexual violence and its consequences reported in academic studies of 1965—rape, torture, unwanted pregnancies, children given away—is transmitted to audience members as these figures converse. Along with the transfer of information, emotional identification with these women's stories is generated through the intense anger and pain of the actors' descriptions of their sufferings. At the same time, the play also challenges the validity of such storytelling, which can be seen as forcing victims to relive painful and humiliating experiences through the protests of the character Sumilah and her conflict with Eyang. In the film about the making of the play, Faiza Mardzuki similarly expresses feelings of guilt at the probing questions she asked survivors about their experiences in preparing the playscript. To what extent does such forced remembering of past pain benefit the victims?

In discussing repetition in post-Holocaust art, Hirsch contends that repetition is an issue that is particular to a postmemorial response; it appears as an inherited trauma and as a generational function (Hirsch 2012, pp. 108–109). Moreover, the affective force of these traumatic images or stories can overshadow their informative potential as illustrated by Mardzuki's statements.

Nonetheless, the postmemory generation sees repetition not as a sign of paralysis or retraumatisation, but as a helpful vehicle in transmitting a traumatic past so that it can be worked through (Hirsch 2012, pp. 108–109) as exemplified by the response of the audience members after the play. *Nyanyi Sunyi*'s recontextualisation of stories, images and documents highlights the intergenerational effort of reparation by *including* the dark past in memorialising the women survivors' experiences.

Additionally, the play also invokes maternal loss and the trope of the family as described by Hirsch (2008) as a site of shared emotional understanding and regeneration. The story of Rachmah represents a particularly tragic example of the theme of maternal loss, both loss of a daughter for her mother, Eyang, and loss of a mother for Ming as Rachmah's child. The cherished doll, intended for but never held by Rachmah, embodies in physical form the sense of the pain of such loss, but also the possibility of recovery of the lost mother. Handed on by Eyang to Ming, the doll also constitutes a telling marker of transmission. The legacy of Eyang's experience, namely the silenced family story, has been passed on and the lost memory restored.

For an audience comprised largely of members of younger generations, the performance itself—telling stories of idealism, social commitment and achievement, as well as injustice and suffering—might be seen to not only correct frightening images of monstrous threat from Indonesia's political past, but also generate positive memories to carry into the future. The joyful tones and facial expressions of the women as they talk about their youthful activities and ideals, and the sense of solidarity and hope conveyed in their recitation of the Plantungan oath and singing of *Salam Harapan*, arguably reinforce through emotional affect the sense of a positive future.

Gejolak Makam Keramat

Gejolak Makam Keramat is a collaborative work devised and directed by visual artist Agung Kurniawan and theatre actor and director Irfanuddien Ghozali. It was performed on 13 July 2017 at the PKKH Arts Centre at Gajah Mada University (UGM) in Yogyakarta. The thirteen actors in the play were part of a group of women survivors of the 1965–66 events in Yogyakarta. Taking on the name Tamara, from the words *tak mudah menyerah* (will not easily give in), the women, ranging in age from their late fifties to late seventies, were members of a larger female survivor organisation called KIPPER (*Kiprah Perempuan*, Women's Activities), which has been meeting regularly since its formation in 2006, providing support and companionship for its members. Kurniawan had become interested in the activities of KIPPER along with another group of women 1965 survivors, the Jakarta-based Dialita choir, and conceived the idea of doing a project with them; Ghozali, who had recent experience working with non-actors in unconventional theatre settings, was keen to join in. Together they held biweekly rehearsals with the survivors over several months, working with an adaptation of the play *Leng* by Bambang Widoyo, playwright and director of the group Gapit.[5]

The original version of the play was conceived and performed during the 1980s. While there are no references to the 1965–66 events, Kurniawan suggests that clear connections can be seen with the socio-political conditions of that period. The link, although not explicitly stated, was that disregard by the economically and politically powerful of the fate of the characters in the play recalls the ongoing marginalisation and silencing of the stories of the actors as former political prisoners (Kurniawan personal communication, 2 May 2018; Ghozali personal communication, 19 October 2018).

A shortened, adapted version of the original playscript—partially translated into Indonesian—was read rather than acted out by the women in a performance style described by Kurniawan and Ghozali as *teater semaan*, from the Indonesian word *simak* (to listen or read carefully). The choice of this approach was partly a practical one; namely to take into account the women's age and frailty, thus avoiding the difficulties of extensive memorisation of dialogue and demanding physical activities. At the same time, with the performers seated in fixed positions with audience members crowded around them, sitting at their feet, it facilitated audience involvement as a central aspect of the event.

The design of the stage was deliberately minimal. Between the four sections allocated to different groups of audience members, a single path provided access for the actors to walk or be wheeled onto the stage. A podium was placed in the middle, next to an electric pole with four neon lights that branched out from the centre of the pole. A conductor stood at the podium rehearsing with the audience their roles in the play. At the cue of certain symbols such as fire or an animal, they were to make the appropriate sounds, the persistent roar of factory machinery, the sounds of pistols and sirens, or the barking of a dog. Importantly, the stage was also open on all sides to ensure that audience members were able to see each other and participate in the play. The audience was thus to be consistently and insistently present throughout. In order to mobilise audience members' participation in the performance, Kurniawan first divided them by gender, then allotted them to four different groups named after the prisons where 1965–66 victims had been interned: Jefferson Library, Ambarawa, Plantungan, and Bulu.[6] The groups were positioned on the four different corners of the stage, around the seats for the actors. In the course of his opening remarks, Kurniawan distributed some documents about the prisons, inviting audience members to read through them and talk to the performers after the show.

The focus of *GMK* is daily life in a Javanese village threatened by sudden waves of modernisation. A factory has been built on the site of a sacred grave, the burial place of a revered local saint. Various characters, including the guardian of the grave, charged with interceding with the saint on behalf of those seeking blessing, a middle-aged masseuse, Mbok Senik and her daughter Kecik, and Bongkrek, the angry, agitated protagonist, talk together about the impact of the factory on their everyday life. Bongkrek rails against the noise, the pollution and the sickness in the village caused by the factory. The

other characters urge Bongkrek to calm down and be careful, recalling the fate of two of their fellow villagers who disappeared after protesting about the factory's noise and pollution. Bongkrek rejects their advice; he insists that he will keep raising his voice, speaking out against wrongs rather than pretending he does not see them. Giving in and accepting does not necessarily mean defeat, Mbok Senik counters, asserting that those who stay quiet will win out, while failure comes to the ones who make the most noise (*wong meneng itu cemepak menange […] sing kakean polah cemepak kalahe*). When Bongkrek finds out that his sick child has died, he blames the factory as the source of polluting disease and sets it on fire. In the ensuing chaos, Bongkrek himself is engulfed in the flames. The play's concluding scene is set in a press conference organised by the factory owners where they dismiss Bongkrek's fate.

The conversation between Bongkrek and his fellow villagers reveals the tension between speaking out against the wrongdoings of the antagonists (*juragan-juragan* or business people) and the value of dignified silence. On a more general level, the advocation throughout the play of silence and acceptance as the way to deal with the onslaught of the factory echoes the traditional Javanese value of acceptance of life's troubles. But it could also suggest the repression and silencing of the voices of 1965 survivors throughout the New Order period and beyond. Meanwhile, the portrayal of the violent disruption to ordinary people's lives and the disregard of their concerns by the powerful during the New Order, as a personal memory for younger audience members, may have opened a fuller more palpable understanding of the cruelty suffered by the victims of 1965–66. By involving the audience in the play, the play also added an extra layer in visualising memory. The audience could not passively watch as events unfolded before their eyes; they were forced to become active participants. The audience also co-produced the play by doing more than just watching. Thus, the *GMK* directors' decision to involve and, to some degree, 'implicate' the audience highlighted the point that the bigger collective was/is also implicated as witnesses in the making of history about the killings.

Witnessing and healing: the audience as the fourteenth actor in GMK *and the audience as witness in* Nyanyi Sunyi

As the play comes to an end, Kurniawan thanks the audience (as the fourteenth actor) and invites them to the post-play celebration together with the performers. Kurniawan then calls forward Bu Sri Muhayati, who played the role of Kecik, to introduce her fellow performers and tell their stories. She talks of the reasons for their imprisonment, their age when they entered the camp, and the length of time they spent there. Bu Sri further states that the group refuses to be immobilised by the past and instead are ready to meet life's challenges. She credits the theatre project as a way in which they have been able to feel productive. Thus despite the hard life that they experienced during and after their imprisonment, there was also humour and pathos in

their stories, a strong sense of camaraderie and indeed, family connection. In *GMK*, the family is both represented in the story and also embodied by the women survivor-performers of KIPPER. Moreover, the audience became absorbed into this 'family' through their involvement in the play. Kurniawan's invitation to Bu Sri to tell the stories of the performers, rather than discussing the content of the play itself, implied that the actors and their lives were the central elements in the performance. The actors' role had been transformed into that of embodying the collective memory of 1965–66. The fictitious village and the sacred grave of the play provided a means to refer to the 1965–66 events. For example, the names mentioned of villagers who had disappeared after being involved in protests were, in reality, the names of family and friends of the actors who had disappeared during the 1965–66 reprisals (Kurniawan personal communication, 4 May 2018).

GMK's strategy of involving audience members in dramatic action echoes the strategies used by immersive theatre in making the audience interact physically with the actors and the theatrical space. In this form of theatre, the audience is often pushed to feel more and sense more as part of their immersion into the play (Alston 2016; White 2012). In this regard, the *GMK* audience had to be alert, engaged and involved in order to make the play 'work'. While in immersive theatre an audience's affective relationship to a play arises from an engagement with something represented, as it does in all theatre, and while this may well carry great personal significance, here the promotion of productive participation means that affective experience itself becomes centrally significant (Alston 2016, p. 10).

This affective network that emerged through the active involvement of audience members contrasts with the more conventional, realist approach of *Nyanyi Sunyi.* The young woman viewer quoted earlier, evidently representing a predominantly female audience in keeping with the play's performance in celebration of International Women's Day (camera shots of the audience in the film about the playmaking show almost all women) speaks with deep feeling, overwhelmed by emotion about her reaction to the play. For her, the stories told by the actors, the narratives of torture and loss experienced by women survivors during their imprisonment, worked very effectively in evoking empathy with these women's experiences. Meanwhile, the two women survivors who express strong, positive responses to the performance—one breaking down with emotion, the other warmly thanking the actors—have identified closely personally with the stories told onstage.

The male audience member interviewed after watching the play, however, gives a more measured response. He speaks calmly about the good acting in the play, but does not comment on or express empathy with the characters' stories. This example arguably illustrates a limitation in the theatrical strategy at work, namely the vulnerability to the effects of 'crude empathy', a Brechtian term indicating evocation of feeling for another based on the assimilation of the other's experience to the self (Bennett 2005, p. 10). While theatrical works employing this approach connect viewers to a sense of common humanity,

there is also the potential to alienate those who are not receptive to the invitation, and who do not feel a sense of personal connection with the experiences portrayed on stage.

The audience of GMK was more mixed in composition than that of *Nyanyi Sunyi*, involving members of the arts community, students and activists. The response of the audience was similarly more complicated. At the height of their immersion and participation in the play, the focus was no longer on the actors and the experiences of the characters. The audience's engagement in communicating, touching and liaising produced unique experiences arising from their investment of energy which promoted affective consequences. As they were asked to move around the stage and sit among the actors, their senses were also heightened by listening, uttering animal noises and singing with the actors. Such exertion elicited from the audience arguably promoted a higher degree of introspection. As Alston (2016, p. 8) argues, introspection in immersive theatre gives rise to the aestheticisation of experience. An aesthetically constitutive audience is diverted from a more typical art object, such as the actors, to the experiences that arise from audience immersion and participation.

In *GMK*, the participation and immersion of the audience was also intended to activate sediments of collective memories of violence and repression during the New Order era. Instead of focusing on the personal or individualised stories to elicit empathy, the play instead denied this expectation and 'forced' the audience to reflect on their participation as witnesses. While the story was not directly related to 1965–66 events, by immersing the audience in the creation of the play and assigning them as representative of the sites of incarceration of 1965–66 victims, it opened up possibilities to connect with broader issues of violence and its legacies, even for those less open to this invitation. The deliberate incorporation of the audience echoes what the scholar and philosopher Bracha Ettinger (2001) called 'aesthetic wit(h)nessing'. The term describes the ethical responsibility of aesthetic practices: that it can humanise us by implicating those who were not there, as participants and co-owners of the traumatic event (Ettinger 2001; see also Pollock 2010).

Moreover, the audience's participation throughout also plays a restorative role determined by the directors. In shifting the focus from depictions of anger and suffering, the play engages with an intensification of the senses that includes positive emotions as the audience's bodies join in the singing of joyful songs. Ghozali stated that while the play cannot heal the trauma suffered by the actors/survivors, perhaps the purpose of the play is to heal the trauma of his (postmemory) generation (Ghozali, personal communication, 19 October 2018). Young people for whom the events of 1965–66 have long represented an unspeakable topic may have gained some awareness of what was involved, and potentially a wish to find out more. At the same time, in contrast to the stance of many truth-seeking or testimonial projects, the director acknowledges that there may be some wounds in the past that cannot be healed or reversed; nevertheless, the creative act calls out for this acknowledgment or recognition.

Conclusion

The plays convey the different ways in which gender shaped survivors' experiences and articulation of the painful past in the aftermath of 30 September 1965. Both plays seek to celebrate the stories of survival and resilience of the women survivors. Through a combination of women's voice and storytelling, the directors and collaborators utilised the trope of the family as a site for the transmission of postmemory.

In *Nyanyi Sunyi*, Faiza Mardzuki constructed a fictional narrative about maternal loss and a family secret based on her research and interviews with women survivors and victims. She strongly emphasised the painful memory not only by faithfully narrating some of the horrific violence that the (real) victims and survivors had to endure, but also through the use of images and photographs of Gerwani's stigmatisation from newspaper clippings projected in the background. Affect is utilised to make the audience empathise with the victims and survivors and to remember the dark past. It is also significant to note that the play was first performed during the commemoration of International Women's Day in 2014. Thus the play was not only situated within other acts of memorialisation of 1965–66, but also within the broader context of women's activism in Indonesia and globally.

In *GMK*, the directors decided to adapt another play that speaks about repression and violence during the New Order era. In this way, the play avoids speaking about the topic of 1965–66 directly and instead focuses on the issues of family, loss and human rights abuse. While such a strategy may be seen as losing the specificity of the events of 1965–66, the directors balanced this by inviting the actors who were victims and survivors of the 1965–66 events to narrate their stories, in their preferred way after the play. The avoidance of talking about sexual violence by the actors could be seen as an admission of the social, cultural and gendered norms that surround the challenges in narrating sexual violence. The post-play presentation thus acknowledged a space of silence (or forgetting) and the emotional complexities in the collective memory of 1965–66. Likewise, *Nyanyi Sunyi*, with its focus on truth-telling, its mission of revealing the stories of 1965–66 victims, nevertheless acknowledges the trauma that such exposure can cause, hints at the kinder option of silence.

Most importantly, both plays place women's stories on the centre stage; mediated and embodied by the actors. Through a combination of oral history research, fiction, the actors' voices and the audience, *GMK* and *Nyanyi Sunyi* sought to empower the women survivors. The plays reject the reading of passive victims by emphasising the strength of its women characters as survivors, as they balance stories of pain with celebration of solidarity and resilience. For Indonesia's postmemory generation, the remembering and memorialisation of 1965–66 by the survivors is vitally important. Indonesian creative practitioners continue to engage with this difficult past in their imaginative investments in parallel with the search for the facts of the events. The survivors of Teater Tamara/KIPPER, for example, recently presented another play with Ghozali as director using similar dramatic strategies to *GMK*.[7] The plays' evocation of the family and

familial relations as a site of shared human experience opens up audience members' understanding of and empathy with 1965–66 experiences. They also acknowledge the role of women in sustaining family life, practically, economically as well as emotionally, as a key factor for survivors in living through the experience of gendered violence, both in overcoming pain and maintaining resilience. In our analyses of the two plays, we have attempted to demonstrate the potency of creative practices in illuminating the experiences of survivors. In doing so, we argue that the plays' engagement with bodily responses, sensations and aesthetic pleasure are able to bring up sediments of memories of 1965–66 in the second and third generational descendants of survivors in particular, and the postmemory generation in general.

Notes

1 See, for example, the Dialita choir, made up of women survivors of 1965–66, based in Jakarta and the theatre activities of the Yogyakarta survivor group KIPPER, discussed this chapter. The work of Komunitas Taman 65 in Bali, in which survivors collaborate with young artists and activists to hold exhibitions and concerts, and have produced an album of prison songs, provides impressive illustration of cultural initiatives described by McGregor (2015) through which young people are presenting the history of 1965–66 in new, socially constructive ways.
2 Scholarly work on the subject matter is extensive. See, for example, Anderson and McVey (1971); Cribb (ed.) (1991); Roosa (2006); Kammen and McGregor (eds) (2012); Melvin (2018).
3 For discussions on the stigma of widows in Indonesia, see Mahy, Winarnita and Herriman (2016); Parker (2016). For discussions on sexual violence and the stigmatisation of PKI widows, see Pohlman (2016).
4 For discussions of *anak PKI*, see Conroe (2012, 2018).
5 Gapit, based in the city of Solo, was renowned during the 1980s and early 1990s, at the height of power of Suharto's New Order regime, for their plays dramatising the impact on villagers and the urban poor of the forces of capitalist development, expressed in the earthy Javanese language of daily life.
6 During the 1965–66 period, alleged communist sympathisers were interrogated about their connection to the 30 September movement. The interrogation that oftentimes turned into a torture was conducted in buildings such as the former USIS library in Yogyakarta, now known as the Jefferson Library. Afterwards they were taken into various prison camps, such as Plantungan and Bulu for women, and Ambarawa for men. For accounts in some of the camps, see Bustam (2008); Wardaya (ed. 2013); Zakaria (2017).
7 The play *Selamatan Anak Cucu Sumilah* [Celebration for Sumilah's Children and Grandchildren] was performed on the campus of Gadjah Mada University on 30 November 2018. For information of the play, see Muryanto (2018). Some KIPPER members were also involved in Kurniawan's contemporary art project, see Afiaty and Esche (2017).

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6 Commemorating gendered violence two decades on

Chinese Indonesian women's voices in the diaspora

Monika S. Winarnita and Ken M.P. Setiawan

Two decades have passed since the May 1998 'Tragedy'. This event refers to the violence that swept across Indonesia, and particularly the capital Jakarta, in the lead-up to the fall of the authoritarian Suharto regime (1966–98). The violence included assaults on Chinese Indonesians, their businesses and property. Many women became victims of mass rapes and sexual assaults. As a consequence of the violence, a considerable number of Chinese Indonesians fled the country and resettled across the globe (Nonini 2006). In 1999, an estimated 150,000 Chinese Indonesians left immediately after, or their departure was precipitated by, the May 1998 violence (Ong 2003; Winarnita and Araujo 2016). Although it is difficult to estimate the exact number of Chinese Indonesians that resettled in Australia, a demographic profile shows that out of approximately 80,000 Indonesian migrants in Australia (of which around 30,000 are located in Melbourne) over 40 percent are women who self-identify as Chinese Indonesian (Utomo 2014; Winarnita 2018).

While the perpetrators of the violence have not been held to account, May 1998 has become part of mainstream narratives on Indonesia's democratic trajectory. These narratives have particularly focused on the role of students in bringing down the authoritarian regime, reflecting the centrality given to youth—and in particular students—in official accounts of the country's history (Aspinall 2012). By contrast, the authorities have silenced and even denied the gendered and ethnic violence that marked this period, illustrating that the experiences of women are often lost in historical narratives (Bennett 2006). In recent years, mainstream public discourses have increasingly profiled Chinese Indonesians as *non-pribumi* (non-Indigenous), reflecting rising conservatism and an increasing nationalist political climate (Hadiz 2017). This poses challenges to those who want to bear witness to the gendered and racial dimensions of the May 1998 violence, not only in Indonesia but also in the diaspora.

At the heart of this chapter is the question of how gendered and racial violence is remembered and commemorated from a situation of both temporal and geographical distance. The chapter answers this question by providing an ethnographic account of the process of commemorating the gendered and racial violence of May 1998 in the context of the Chinese Indonesian diasporic community in Melbourne, Australia. Commemoration is understood as both

the practice of community remembrance and the political processes under which there may or may not be consensus about the representation of the event (Stephens 2006, p. 2). We pay particular attention to the works of two Chinese Indonesian women: Rani Pramesti, who identifies as an activist-artist;[1] and Dewi Anggraeni, who sees herself as a writer and storyteller.[2] Both women have expressed how recent anti-Chinese sentiments have affected them and thus inspired their work to counter dominant narratives that silence the systematic gendered violence. At the same time, our discussion will show some of the challenges that emerge in this process, particularly in a diasporic context.

The chapter engages with and contributes to broader literature on memory, in particular the transgenerational transmission of trauma (Hirsch 2008) and gendered dimensions of memory work, particularly in the diaspora (Alshaibi 2006; Fortier 2000). We combine this with a focus on Mark Goodale's (2007) concept of human rights practices. In recognising that the artistic and literary representations discussed in this chapter are deeply political acts, we argue that these works go beyond artistic representation alone and are, in fact, tools to raise awareness about injustices and to claim rights.

Violence against Chinese Indonesians in May 1998

Chinese Indonesians have historically been perceived as economically strong, but politically weak.[3] Under the Suharto regime, Chinese Indonesians were forced to assimilate into mainstream Indonesian culture. However, this measure had the opposite effect in that their 'foreignness' became even more accentuated (Setijadi 2016). This process made Chinese Indonesians vulnerable to racial violence, especially in times of political and economic crisis. In the late 1990s, Indonesia experienced an economic crisis that was connected to the Asian Financial Crisis. This crisis resulted in the withdrawal of foreign investment across Southeast Asia. After the crash of the Indonesian rupiah, coinciding with the worst drought the country experienced in the twentieth century, industries and businesses collapsed and the number of officially registered poor doubled (Suryahadi and Sumarto 2003). Many Indonesians blamed the ethnic Chinese population for the crisis, their houses and businesses often painted with the words *non-pribumi* (non-Indigenous). As anti-Chinese sentiment increased, harm against this group also intensified (Purdey 2006).

By May 1998, the economic crisis had turned into a political crisis. Across the country, students and activists had taken to the streets, calling for political reform and the resignation of President Suharto. At a demonstration in Jakarta on 12 May, the military opened fire on the protestors, killing four students in what is now known as the Trisakti killings. In the afternoon of the next day, there were violent attacks against Chinese Indonesians in many parts of Jakarta, including mass rapes and sexual assaults on women. This followed similar violence in Medan earlier in May, during which property and business owned by Chinese Indonesians were attacked and women sexually assaulted (McGregor and Setiawan 2019). While violence against Chinese Indonesians in

situations of economic downturn had precedents in Indonesian history, the mass sexual violence against ethnic Chinese women did not (Purdey 2006). The security forces were absent, or inactive, in preventing or stopping the violence. In fact, in all of these cases witnesses reported organised groups of men acting under orders of the security forces or vigilante groups. The techniques used in the violence pointed at military training, whereas the simultaneity of the violence also indicated organisation (Siegel 1998; Strassler 2004).

At the time of the violence, a group led by Roman Catholic priest Father Sandyawan Sumardi under the name Volunteers for Humanity (*Tim Relawan Untuk Kemanusiaan*) offered direct support and counselling for victims, collecting witness accounts and data as the events unfolded. It was through this group that the systematic nature of the violence and the inaction of the security apparatus were exposed. The Volunteers registered 152 cases of rape and assault in Jakarta (Komnas Perempuan 2006).[4] Some of these reports received media coverage, but the general public reacted to this information in disbelief. The media often described the witness reports as 'rumours' (*isu*) and the violence as 'savage' (*biadab*). As a consequence, the rapes were seen as 'irrational rather than overtly political and instrumental violence' (Strassler 2004, p. 693). Meanwhile, the government denied any involvement in the sexual violence and called upon activists to provide proof—thereby implying that activists and victims had fabricated the reports. Similarly, some Islamic organisations argued that accounts of the rapes were fabricated to discredit Islam (Purdey 2006). These early denials and contestation of witness statements has complicated further investigation into the violence and attempts to bring this case to justice.

On 23 July 1998, Indonesia's new president, B.J. Habibie, and six ministers appointed the so-called Joint Fact Finding Team (*Tim Gabungan Pencari Fakta*) to investigate the May violence. This announcement followed a meeting a few days prior with a group of women activists, after which Habibie said in a widely circulated statement:

> After I heard the reports of the women from the Society Against Violence Towards Women, containing clear and authentic evidence (*bukti-bukti yang nyata dan otentik*), … [I] express my deep regret that such violence occurred which is not in accordance with the values and culture of the Indonesian people.
>
> (Habibie in Komnas Perempuan 2006, p. 94)

The Fact Finding Team, which comprised members of the armed forces, police, government and civil society organisations, issued its report in October 1998. The Team claimed only 85 verified cases of rape and while it hinted at involvement of the military, it fell short of arguing that the violence had been planned (Komnas Perempuan 2006). In 2003, the Indonesian Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) reopened the investigation into the May 1998 violence, verifying the findings of the Joint Fact Finding Team and recommending for the case to be brought to an ad hoc human rights court. The

Attorney General's Office (AGO) did not respond to this and until today justice remains elusive. This response to the May 1998 case follows a general pattern in which the AGO has shown great reluctance in bringing cases of past human rights violations to court (Setiawan 2019). Fifteen years later, in April 2018, the Indonesian Ministry for Law and Human Rights convened a meeting regarding the May 1998 violence. According to some activists who attended the meeting, and who were involved in Volunteers for Humanity, this meeting offered little in ensuring that the violence will be addressed through formal mechanisms.[5] In turn this means that, more than twenty years on, the denial of the May 1998 violence persists.

Human rights organisations, including the National Commission for Women's Rights (Komnas Perempuan), have persistently demanded attention to the violence against women in 1998. However, as has been noted by Winarnita (2012), much of their work has framed the events as a violation of the rights of all Indonesian women, leaving out the racial motives from the narrative of gender-based violence. Similarly, while recent developments to mark sites of violence—for instance, through the May 1998 memorial in Jakarta (*The Jakarta Post*, 11 May 2015)—represent a form of acknowledgment, such initiatives have placed the event in a broader narrative of regime change. This is illustrated by referring to the victims of May 1998 as *pahlawan Reformasi* ('heroes of reform'). The victims described by this term are generally urban, poor and male. The use of this terminology has diverted attention from the systemic discrimination against Chinese Indonesians and the use of sexual violence as a tool of repression. This chapter will show how female activist-artists and writers of Chinese Indonesian descent seek to address these lacunae.

Human rights practices and commemorating sexual violence

In a context of the failure of formal mechanisms for redress and limited recognition for past violence, those affected have turned to alternative ways to pass on their memories. This statement also holds true for the many Chinese Indonesians who left the country after the May 1998 violence. Often, these memories are conveyed through forms of artistic or literary expression that do not only serve to communicate what has happened in the past, but also aim to raise awareness of inequalities and injustices, and even advocate for justice. These are public statements, deeply grounded in personal experience, both about what happened in the past and how this should be acknowledged in the present. Artistic and literary practices are thus fundamentally social phenomena, which seek to make powerful contributions to our shared humanity (Elliott, Silverman and Bowman 2016).

We consider the artistic and literary works discussed in this chapter as examples of human rights practices, defined as 'the many ways in which social actors […] talk about and advocate for […] the idea of human rights in its different forms' (Goodale 2007, p. 24). Social actors go beyond the political elites, with Goodale arguing that exactly through a focus on non-elite

actors—such as artists and writers—we are able to examine what human rights *do* for people in practice and how these ideas empower actors to claim their rights. This emphasis on social actors reflects anthropological approaches to the study of human rights (in which Goodale's work is situated), which have consistently called for considering human rights beyond the traditional paradigms of international law and politics. This is not to argue that these spheres are not important for the study of human rights. Rather, it is to suggest that the enactment of human rights laws does not necessarily translate into practice. This gap between laws and practices means that the implementation of human rights is dependent on the embedment of human rights values in societies (Merry 2006).

In raising awareness about violence, rape and other forms of sexual violence have often been characterised as 'unspeakable'; acts so horrific that they are impossible to convey in words. This has also been noted in the context of May 1998 in Indonesia (Siegel 1998), and has arguably led to the invisibility of sexual violence in processes of commemoration (Kusno 2003; Strassler 2004). However, there are examples where sexual violence is remembered, for instance, in global commemorations of so-called former comfort women (McGregor, Chapter 2 this volume; Tsutsui 2006). Similarly, ethnographic research by Klungel (2010) shows that in Guadeloupe, performative acts play an important role in the remembrance of sexual violence, communicating trauma across generations both in familial and public spheres. She argues that the remembrance of sexual violence in these contexts simultaneously functions as warning, protection and reintegration mechanisms. This example also underlines that rape is not merely a matter for individuals, but for society as a whole. While remembering and commemorating violence is not without problems and limitations (Friedlander 1992), and sexual violence is not per definition adequately represented in history, these memories can be transmitted despite having been silenced (Klungel 2010).

In considering how Chinese Indonesian women transmit memories of sexual violence in the diaspora, our analysis is concerned with both the transmission of past events across time and space, as well as the gendered dimensions of memory work. We will discuss these elements in turn. First, by considering elements of time and space, we are interested in the gap between the actual event and the present—which is continually increasing—and how past events are communicated to those who did not experience them firsthand. In considering space, we refer to the process of remembering in other geographical sites from where the events occurred—in this case, in the diaspora. We thus investigate how memories are mobilised in different temporal (and generational), spatial, cultural and political settings, with a particular interest in how memories are used in the context of a political struggle (cf. Argenti and Schramm 2010).

In analysing the traumatic impact of past violence on those who did not experience it directly, we build on the concept of postmemory (Hirsch 2008). Coined by Marianne Hirsch in the context of memories of the Holocaust, postmemory refers to the relationship of people to powerful and often

traumatic experiences that occurred before they were born. While these people were not physically present at the time, through familial ties memories of the events were communicated to them in a profound way, coming close to memories in their own right. Similarly, in the context of the Palestinian diaspora, artist Sama Alshaibi (2006) has raised the importance of family, particularly the role of women, including mothers and grandmothers. However, as argued by Hirsch, postmemory should not be mistaken as memory, although it approximates this in affective force. It is also not an identity position but a generational structure and a powerful vehicle in the transgenerational transmission of memories as it allows the communication of past events in the present (Hirsch 2008).

Various mediums can be used in communicating memories of the past. Hirsch's (2008) work, for instance, focuses particularly on the role of photography. Other mediums of memorial work of the second generation may include fiction, memoirs or artistic representation. These works are often shaped by feelings of confusion and responsibility, as well as a desire to repair what was broken. In contexts where suffering is not adequately acknowledged, for instance in Palestine, art represents a 'reclaiming of a history, as well as a voice to current struggles "silenced" by Israel's domination' (Alshaibi 2006, p. 31). Commenting on the role of writers with regard to war and memory, Mia Couto argues that fictional spaces have a crucial role to play in opening dialogues on past violence: 'by transforming it into a story, you allow people to revisit without a sense of guilt, without pointing fingers to the others' (Couto in Klungel 2010, p. 58). For the transgenerational transmission of traumatic events of the past, artistic and literary representation is thus invaluable.

Second, we argue that memory work is a gendered process. In processes of transgenerational transmission of trauma, memory work often uses feminine tropes, such as the image of the mother, to rebuild and re-embody disappearing connections. Gender is thus an idiom of remembrance, which enables links between the past and present (Hirsch 2008). Similarly, Sama Alshaibi draws on the personal stories of her grandmother, mother and herself in her work to move from personal memory into cultural memory, articulating the cycle of dispossession experienced by the Palestinian people (Alshaibi 2006). Fortier (2000) notes that in diasporic communities, where cultural identity is simultaneously deterritorialised and reterritorialised, culture and group identity can be produced through performative acts in which the female body is often used to inscribe both local particularity and collective identity. Women thus play an important role in forging cultural identities. This notion further underlines the fundamentally social nature of memories (Halbwachs 1992). Memories may be individual but hold social groups of various scales together, defining a group's image of itself and its external environment (Smith 2013).

It should be stressed that memory work, and expressions of identity, are not necessarily homogenous in nature. Statements put forward may differ and even contradict one another, as individuals may remember and interpret events in different ways. The latter may especially occur when individuals or

groups have different interests. However, contradicting accounts are not necessarily a sign of attempts to deny history by a repressive authority. Rather these contradictions signal that memory, as a social construct, continually reshapes itself and addresses changing needs (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003).

Commemorating gendered and ethnic violence in the diaspora

On a sunny autumn Saturday in May 2018, more than 100 people, mostly Indonesians from various ethnic groups living in Melbourne, Australia, attended a commemoration at Monash University for 'Remembering 20 Years of May '98 Riots', or its twentieth anniversary. Organised by *Forum Masyarakat Indonesia di Australia* (Indonesian Community Forum in Australia, FMIA), the event was publicised in an email communication and a Monash University temporary events webpage with an extended title to the social media post, 'Commemorating *Reformasi* and the Events of May 1998 to Foster a Diverse Nation' (*Memperingati Reformasi dan Peristiwa Mei 1998 Dengan Tekad Memelihara Kebangsaan Yang Bhinneka*), which featured a 'one day seminar with panel speakers, testimonials, photographs and an art exhibition'.[6] Both authors participated in and observed the various activities during this one-day event.[7] In this section, we focus our ethnographic observation on two of the three women with Chinese Indonesian heritage who presented their artistic and literary work, including public discussions, at the commemoration.

What was striking in this Melbourne diasporic commemoration of May 1998, and different to those held over two decades ago inside and outside of Indonesia, was that Chinese Indonesian women's voices were prominent. By comparison, commemorations in the diaspora —such as in Sydney, three months after the May 1998 violence—had historically been part of international events organised by the Huaren Chinese diaspora online group in their campaign on human rights violations in 1998 against Chinese Indonesians (Winarnita 2012). The Sydney event in 1998 discussed at length the human rights violations against those of Chinese descent, emphasising male testimonies. While this previous Sydney diasporic commemorative event was important, it downplayed the gendered ethnic violence against Chinese Indonesian women.

However, the absence of women's voices at that time could also have played a role. At the time of the Sydney commemoration, memories were still very raw, and people possibly could not yet express themselves. The event in Melbourne was not initiated by an international Chinese diaspora group like the event in Sydney, but was driven by the Indonesian diaspora group. The group actively sought the participation of women, and particularly Chinese Indonesian women who explicitly addressed the gendered and ethnic violence of May 1998. These were activist-artist Rani Pramesti, who presented her digital graphic novel *Chinese Whispers* (Figure 6.1);[8] journalist and author Dewi Anggraeni, who featured in Rani's novel and also presented her own fiction novel *My Pain My Country* (Figure 6.2); and survivor-artist Elina Simbolon who displayed her work *The Voice of Mockingbird* (Figure 6.3).

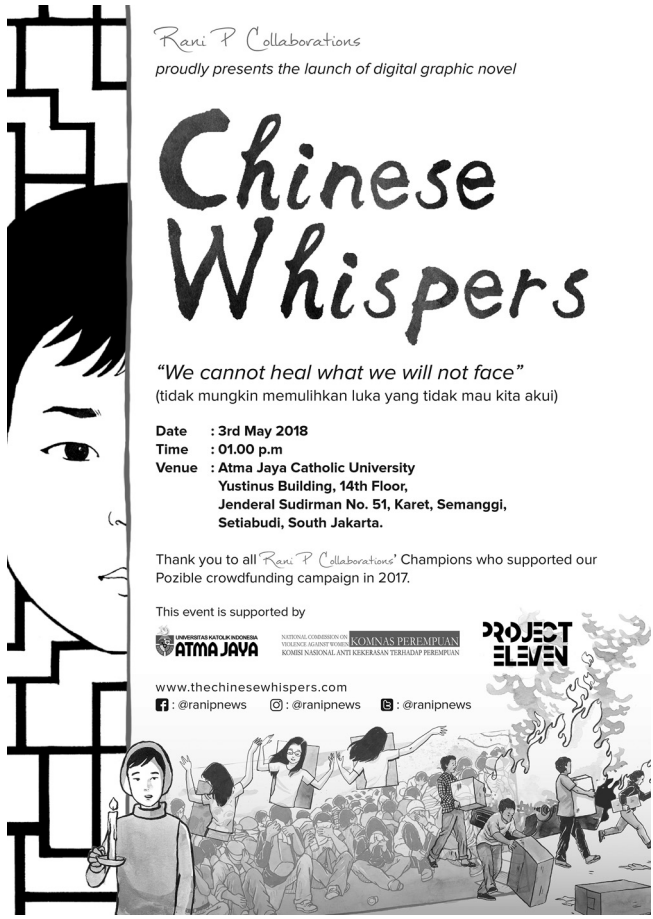
Rani P Collaborations
proudly presents the launch of digital graphic novel
Chinese Whispers
"We cannot heal what we will not face"
(tidak mungkin memulihkan luka yang tidak mau kita akui)
Date : 3rd May 2018
Time : 01.00 p.m
Venue : Atma Jaya Catholic University
Yustinus Building, 14th Floor,
Jenderal Sudirman No. 51, Karet, Semanggi,
Setiabudi, South Jakarta.
Thank you to all Rani P Collaborations' Champions who supported our Pozible crowdfunding campaign in 2017.
This event is supported by
UNIVERSITAS KATOLIK INDONESIA ATMA JAYA
KOMNAS PEREMPUAN
PROJECT ELEVEN
www.thechinesewhispers.com
: @ranipnews : @ranipnews : @ranipnews

Figure 6.1 Poster for Rani Pramesti's *Chinese Whispers* 2018 Jakarta launch.

Elina, an RMIT University Master of Fine Arts graduate who was listed as the 'host' of the social media announcement of the Melbourne commemoration event 'the Voices in 20th Anniversary', also introduced her installation artwork, *The Voice of Mockingbird.* Elina's short introduction to her work took place half way through the day, after an announcement that the lunch buffet was served and without space for a question and answer session from the audience. She declined to be interviewed further due to her status as a survivor-artist of Chinese Indonesian descent. Elina gave permission for representation of her work, a photo from the event depicting the art installation of crumbling white bricks (white being the colour of mourning for the Chinese people) piled up and also arranged in different vertical configuration of eight rows (Figure 6.3). Each brick is decorated with different coloured pieces of clothes, with the most prominent

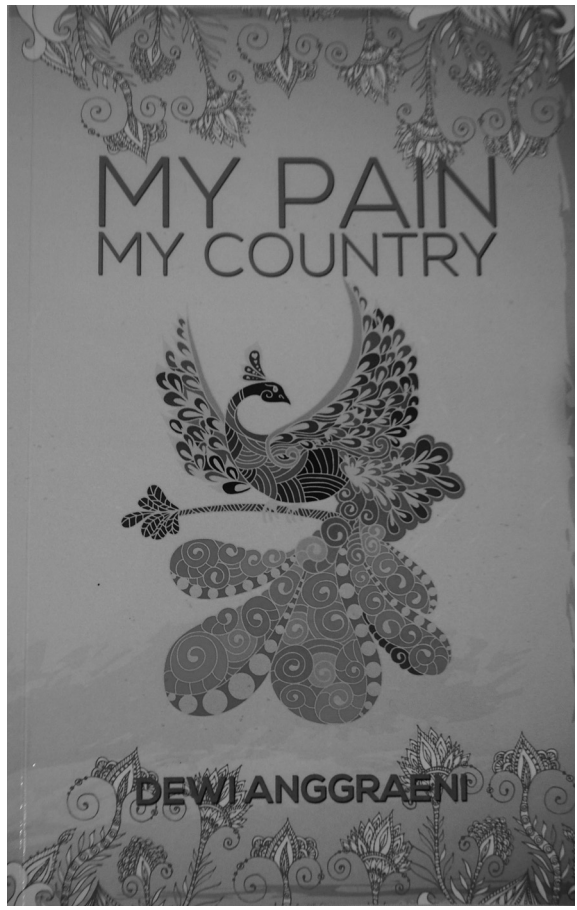

Figure 6.2 Dewi Anggraeni's 2017 novel *My Pain My Country*.

being what appears to be male attire of formal, light blue-stripped, business long-sleeved shirts with buttons on their cuffs still attached. There are also flower prints in the pieces of clothing, which suggests female attire. Elina explained further that 'there are some ripped women's underwear and torn fabrics with Chinese emblems on them which are not completely concealed in the concrete to represent the unresolved issue of violence against ethnic Chinese women'.[9] These pieces of clothing, though attached to the white bricks, also illustrate detachment from the bodies that wore them and from the larger community they belong to. Thus, potentially eliciting a visceral reaction in audiences attending an event with the context of commemorating the violence towards Chinese Indonesians. Elina's artwork speaks not only for the experiences of those represented by the crumbling bricks and pieces of clothing, but also her own story.

Figure 6.3 Elina Simbolon's *The Voice of Mockingbird* art installation 2018. Photo courtesy of Yacinta Kurniasih.

The women's stories

The other two Chinese Indonesian women who were invited to present in a public discussion panel at the event also told their personal stories about May 1998 and their motivation for creating their artistic and literary work. The first presenter was Rani, who described her non-fiction digital graphic novel, *Chinese Whispers*. The novel was titled as a play on words both from the game 'Chinese Whispers', where messages passed on get distorted, as well as from the fact that the mass rapes of Chinese Indonesian women have been denied by the state, not acknowledged, existing as 'whispers' by those whose voices are silenced or distorted as in the 'game'. Similar to Sama Alshaibi, who draws on the personal stories of herself and the women in her family as a way of connecting personal memory to cultural memory, Rani is telling the story of May 1998 through her eyes as a twelve-year-old girl and as an adult.

She included a variety of women's voices. These included the voices of senior women such as Dewi Anggraeni as a historical source, and philosopher Karlina Supelli as an eyewitness. The voices also included anonymous Chinese Indonesian women based in Melbourne, including from the youth group who Rani interviewed as part of the research process of *Chinese Whispers*. Karlina Supelli is also a friend of Rani's mother, whom Rani describes as a feminist activist during the events in 1998 supporting the survivors of the gendered ethnic violence. Rani's emphasis on including these women's voices is arguably a feminine trope of transgenerational transmission of trauma, from the older generation of females of her mother's age, to Chinese Indonesian women younger than her in the youth group who may not have living memory of the event. The women's voices speaking in the novel and no longer whispering about the May 1998 mass rapes, emphasise 'gender as an idiom of remembrance' (Hirsch 2008, p. 103), linking the past and present need to commemorate and acknowledge the continued discrimination experienced by Chinese Indonesians.

One of the first scenes in her novel shows Rani watching the city burn from her rooftop as a twelve-year-old girl living in Jakarta, and her mother telling her she has to leave. Like many Chinese Indonesian families who were socio-economically able to send their daughters to Australia for their safety

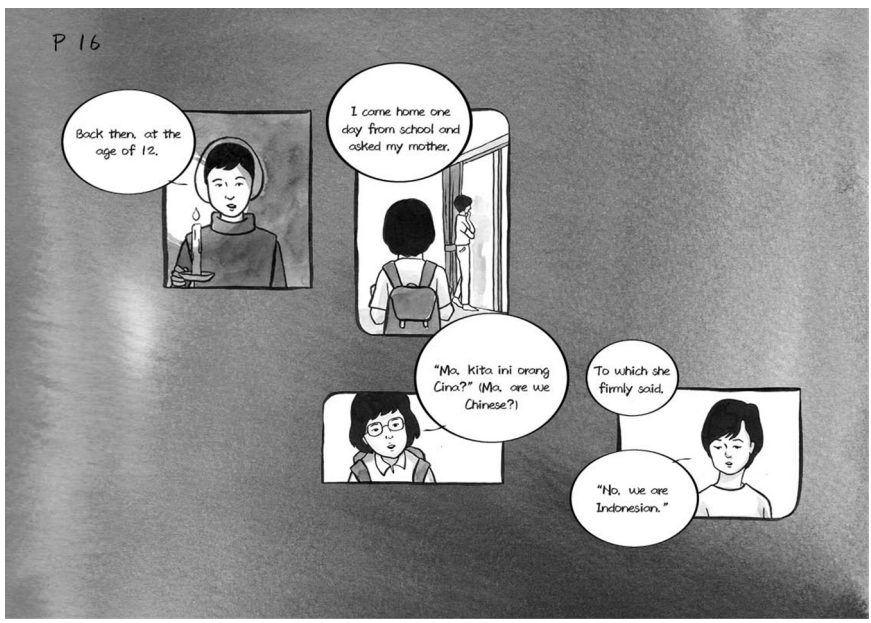
P 16
Back then, at the age of 12.
I come home one day from school and asked my mother,
"Ma, kita ini orang Cina?" (Ma, are we Chinese?)
To which she firmly said,
"No, we are Indonesian."

Figure 6.4 Rani as a twelve-year-old in a scene with her mother, from the online digital graphic novel, *Chinese Whispers*.

(Winarnita, Chan and Butt 2018), Rani's parents sent her to live at a boarding school in Perth from age thirteen. The novel in essence traces Rani's quest to find out how such violence as May 1998 could occur, starting from her life as a child living in Indonesia and the event that prompted her move to Australia, in a similar manner to the stories of some of the women she interviewed and included in her novel.

The artistic process of *Chinese Whispers* started with what Rani called nine months of 'fieldwork' amongst the Indonesian Catholic community and its youth group in Melbourne.[10] The novel describes how she began by conducting theatre workshops with young women in this group, intending to 'perform their story of migration' (Fortier 2000). As some of the young women left Melbourne and returned to Indonesia, the project evolved into recording the stories of those who remained and, in particular, Rani's conversations with them about May 1998, as well as gendered and ethnic violence against Chinese Indonesians. Her novel is also a depiction of Rani's quest to understand how such violence could occur, including reading Indonesia's history to understand the position of Chinese Indonesians *vis-à-vis pribumi* during the Dutch colonial period, and reverse-racism of a Chinese Indonesian young woman she met in Melbourne (Pramesti 2018, Chapter 4). The two last chapters of the novel,

P 10
And I asked them about all sorts of things
how they perceived themselves: did they consider themselves Chinese,
Indonesian, Australian
or some other combination.
I asked them about their dreams, songs they liked.
how they came to Australia.
their favourite dishes to cook.
what the point of life was?!

Figure 6.5 Rani's discussion with young Chinese Indonesian women in Melbourne, from the online digital graphic novel, *Chinese Whispers*.

'Unity' and 'Prayer', are about the possibilities for tolerance and reconciliation in the act of remembrance.

The recorded stories that are part of the novel first featured in Rani's award-winning 2014 art installation performance piece for the Melbourne Fringe Festival, also entitled *Chinese Whispers*. Using headphones, visitors to the installation were able to listen to the stories of the Chinese Indonesian women while walking through a maze that Rani created with white cloth, cultural objects and projected shadow images such as masks, fire and simple animations. At the end of the maze, visitors were able to chat over tea with host Fanny Hanusin, a Melbourne-based Chinese Indonesian actress, about their experience going through the installation, their thoughts and feelings about the May 1998 event, or about gendered and ethnic violence in general. The visitors were also asked to leave comments on pieces of paper. Some of these reflections were recorded on video and are publicly available in a bilingual YouTube trailer.[11] More importantly, the comments by young female Chinese Indonesians in Melbourne viscerally expressed the transgenerational transmission of trauma. One in particular, of a visitor born after 1998, reflected a 'post-memory' (Hirsch 2008): 'wow this really happened, it still going on, it makes you aware you should embrace this part of you, you can forgive but no one can forget right'. Another commented on the reluctance to face difficult pasts, yet the necessity to do so (speaking in English with Indonesian subtitles):

> We don't want to open that room and that experience sort of impact[s you] and we don't want to go there anymore because it's unpleasant, but how do you feel recovery [sic] and make sure this does not happen anymore and you don't learn from it, that's why [the art installation] it's healing.[12]

The latter comment thus also underlined the powerful role of art in bringing the past to the present.

Figure 6.6 Rani's 2014 art installation, *Chinese Whispers*, at the Melbourne Fringe Festival.

Compared to the installation, the eight-chapter digital graphic novel that Rani presented in the 2018 Melbourne commemoration did not have the same level of interactivity or engagement with specifically young female Chinese Indonesians. The digital graphic novel was, in Rani's words, 'a multimedia translation of the 2014 art installation performance by the same name *Chinese Whispers* (title remained in English)'.[13] Rani chose this medium to engage younger audiences globally and online, similar to the effects of Japanese manga animations produced after World War Two about traumatic events such as the Atomic Bombs (Fuller 2012). Rani's public engagements, presentations and workshops in Indonesia and in Melbourne about the 2018 novel does feature face-to-face interactivity with readers of her work.[14] At the time of the May 2018 event in Melbourne, her digital graphic novel was only available in Indonesian and thus its audience was limited to those with a command of this language.

The second presenter at the Melbourne commemoration, journalist and author Dewi Anggraeni also featured as the second chapter of Rani's 2018 digital novel, titled 'Becoming Witness'. This chapter in the novel shows Rani's quest to find out about the event by visiting Dewi's home to hear her story and her thoughts about the 1998 event, in effect searching for transgenerational knowledge (cf. Hirsch 2008). Dewi recalled that in May 1998, when she was a journalist based in Melbourne, she did not at first believe mass rapes and sexual assault happened, reflecting the general sense of disbelief in Indonesia. For Dewi, this was because none of the Jakarta-based journalists she knew was able to talk to survivors.[15] As has been discussed in studies of survivors of mass rapes, there is often an element of shame and fear associated with sexual assault. This is particularly the case with Chinese Indonesian women survivors of the May 1998 event (Budianta 2002; Heryanto 2001). It was not until she met a female survivor recovering in Melbourne that Dewi was compelled to do her own research or to 'unearth the truth.'[16]

Dewi's writing, particularly her fictional novel *My Pain My Country* (2017) in English and her earlier non-fiction work in Indonesian *Tragedi Mei 1998* (May 1998 Tragedy, 2014) about Komnas Perempuan's role, is (according to Dewi) a way of making amends for not initially believing that the violence had occurred.[17] In *Chinese Whispers*, Dewi is recorded stating in Indonesian: 'I feel I am in the wrong and sinful that I ever doubted that the rapes happened (*saya merasa bersalah dan berdosa pernah meragukan pemerkosaan itu terjadi*).' This illustrates Hirsch's (2008) argument of how commemoration can be a way of trying to make things 'right'.[18] In particular, by being part of Rani's work, Dewi is sharing a transgenerational collective trauma through their combined artistic and literary representation (Hirsch 2008).

Dewi Anggraeni's own English language novel *My Pain My Country* was released just before the twentieth anniversary of the May 1998 event. The novel is also about transgenerational trauma of three Chinese Indonesian women, a mother and her two daughters, and their experiences of the event. The story begins with what happened to the youngest daughter Irina or 'Nina' who found herself in 'harm's way amid the mass gang-raping of Chinese women' (Anggraeni

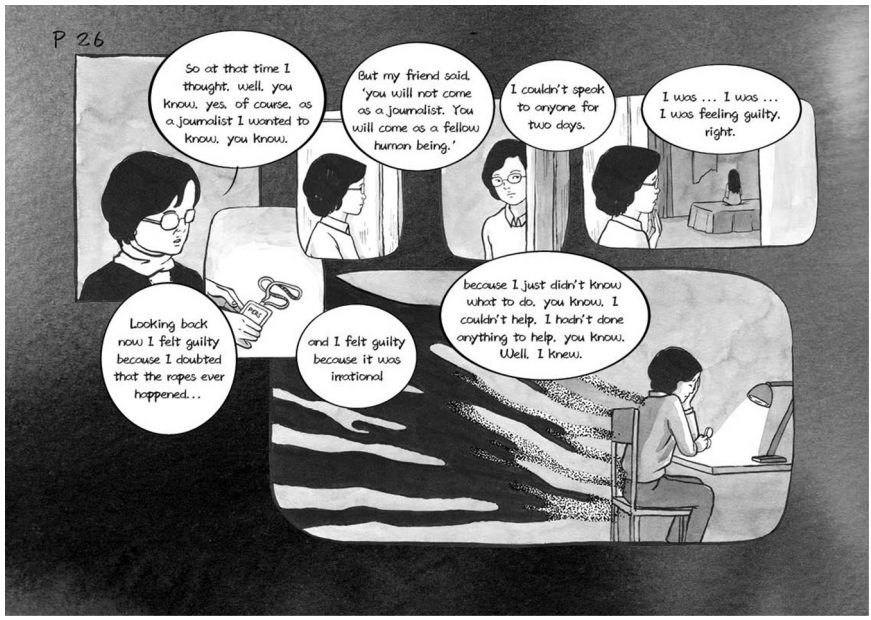
P 26
So at that time I thought, well, you know, yes, of course, as a journalist I wanted to know, you know.
But my friend said, 'you will not come as a journalist. You will come as a fellow human being.'
I couldn't speak to anyone for two days.
I was ... I was ... I was feeling guilty, right.
because I just didn't know what to do, you know. I couldn't help. I hadn't done anything to help, you know. Well, I knew.
and I felt guilty because it was irrational
Looking back now I felt guilty because I doubted that the rapes ever happened...

Figure 6.7 Dewi's experience meeting a survivor depicted in Rani's online digital graphic novel, *Chinese Whispers.*

2017, book cover) when she went to help her fellow student activists. Nina committed suicide from acute depression when she returned to Jakarta from her sojourn to recover in Australia. The story then focused on her mother and older sister Narida, who have to cope with Nina's death while suffering their own mental breakdowns and a deep sense of guilt and failure. In the end, Narida finds solace by writing a novel about the violence towards Chinese Indonesian women to counter the Indonesian government's denial of the event. Narida's solace is inspired by Dewi's own explanation of her reason to write this novel.

Dewi's message in the novel is also both about seeking acknowledgement and justice for the victims and their families, and countering stereotypes of Chinese Indonesians as not contributing to and being part of Indonesian society. Narida, for example, is described in the novel as marrying a non-Chinese Indonesian Muslim man while her mother Mariana stayed put in Indonesia and continued on with her Indonesian batik cloth making. The family is also depicted as receiving immense support from non-Chinese Indonesian friends and strangers who are not indifferent to their discrimination.

There is a similar underlying message in both Dewi and Rani's works in that they attempt to counter stereotypes, and explore the possibilities of reconciliation and tolerance despite ongoing racism. Both of their works call for acknowledgment and justice for the gendered and ethnic violence that occurred. They argue that this is the sole basis to move on as Indonesians, both Chinese and non-Chinese.

Challenges by dominant male voices

While the Melbourne event showcased three Chinese Indonesian women's art and literary works, it also included the testimonies of several Chinese Indonesian men, in a panel chaired by a prominent Chinese Indonesian man. Paintings by a Chinese Indonesian male artist of human rights atrocities were also on display. Further testimonies and comments came predominantly from male audience members. The dominance of male testimonies in particular was a feature of the previous diasporic commemorative event in Sydney in 1998 that intended to focus on the human rights violations against those of Chinese descent through rape—although no women spoke. The silent female body in the early Sydney commemoration is nevertheless inscribed with collective diasporic identity (Fortier 2000).

Similarly, in the Melbourne 2018 commemorative event, victims of mass rapes became representatives of their ethnic collective identity in the way men graphically retold the events of twenty years ago either as speakers or audience members. Although these men focused on their own experiences, they also spoke on behalf of their wives and daughters. They especially mentioned how safe the female members of the family were, perhaps because of the potential shame associated with being victims of sexual violence (Budianta 2002; Heryanto 2001). One of the listed invited speakers told the audience how he was able to get his wife and children to a golf club to hide in safety, while he returned to protect his property as if he were a soldier preparing for war. Studies of genocidal rape have discussed how male testimonies depict violence against women as a form of communication between men (Hague 1997). In other words, the stories emphasise violence against women as a way to de-masculinise members of the other group, or to make them less of a man by not being able to protect 'their' women, who are treated as the property of men. Rani challenged the fact that it was predominantly men from the audience commenting about the event during her panel's question and answer time. She asked for more gender balance, giving other women in the audience, both older and younger, an opportunity to have their voices heard. This led one older woman to condemn the sexual violence that had occurred historically in Indonesia.

Several male audience members challenged Dewi and Rani. One tried to restate his gender in relation to Rani's call for more gender-balanced questions: 'I am a man but I also have a right to speak!'. According to Rani's recollection, his male friend then followed by stating: 'Why don't you all just move on?'. This friend then went on to say that he is an Indonesian with Chinese Indonesian friends and wanted to focus on positive relations between the two groups. Nevertheless, the implication of his comment (perhaps unconsciously) was an ongoing 'othering' of Chinese Indonesians by making a distinction between the two groups. Discussing this interaction afterwards, Rani explained that

> it made me angry, because it highlighted his ignorance in relation to how there are many more barriers to women speaking up in a public event

such as the FMIA event and also highlighted his male sense of entitlement to take up time, space and energy.[19]

Rani and Dewi's answers to these challenges clearly illustrate the political message of their respective works. Dewi responded that 'acknowledgement and justice are still needed, particularly for the victims and their families'. Rani added: 'Moving on does not mean forgetting the past or silencing its stories; that's denial'. This interchange with the male audience member illustrates Hodgkin and Radstone's (2003) argument that engaging with the past is a profoundly political act where memory continually reshapes itself and addresses changing needs. Here there was a renewed 'othering' of Chinese Indonesians as not 'native' or *pribumi*, and thus with an ambiguous sense of belonging to the Indonesian nation (Setijadi 2017). Moreover, Dewi's answer in particular is speaking to a failure of formal mechanisms to achieve redress and limited recognition for past violence. These acts of remembrance thus do not only serve to communicate what has happened in the past; they are also calls for justice.

The challenges of subsuming to intergenerational and multiple community narratives

By having both Rani and Dewi speaking in the same panel about their separate novels on Chinese Indonesian women's experiences of the 1998 violence, there was a 'transgenerational' sharing of a collective trauma through the 'safe' medium of artistic and literary representation (Hirsch 2008). The work of Rani, Elina and Dewi presented in Melbourne thereby arguably fills a void in public knowledge, particularly in younger generations, of a dark chapter in Indonesian history. Their work also challenges common assumptions that sexual violence cannot be spoken about. Artistic and literary representation plays an important role in this process, as the use of fictional spaces allow for a 'safer' level of engagement with a traumatic past (Klungel 2010).

The importance of transgenerational memory is further illustrated in Rani's public interaction with a young female Indonesian student (not of Chinese Indonesian background) at this Melbourne commemorative event. The student stated to the audience that Rani's responsibility as an activist-artist was to engage with youth and to pass down to them her knowledge about the atrocities. She asked Rani: 'Young Indonesian people like me don't know anything about the May 1998 violence. How will you engage with them beyond social media selfies?' This young female student was therefore criticising the use of digital spaces, assumed to be fictional, and appeared to seek a deeper level of face-to-face engagement than the Melbourne commemoration provided. Nevertheless, the student's comment further illustrates how the voices of Chinese Indonesian women do not only continue to be contested by more 'dominant' male testimonies, but also that there is a need for multiple representations to satisfy the various demands for passing on 'transgenerational' knowledge to Indonesian youth in general. As Landsberg (2004) argues, modern technologies, in our case

study, represented by digital graphic novels, allow people to take on 'prosthetic memory' or a deeply experienced memory of an event that they do not personally experience, thereby enabling empathetic connection.

The demand for multiple representations by members of the Indonesian diasporic community also provides a larger narrative of 1998 as a time of reform. Examples of these multiple representations include: a photo journalism exhibition with discussion of journalists exposing human rights violations; discussion of May 1998 as a continuation of human rights violations in Indonesia with an exhibition of paintings of the 1965 mass violence; and poetry readings about missing or murdered human rights activists. Despite the inclusion of Chinese Indonesian women's voices in the Melbourne event, the gendered violence perpetrated against women in May 1998 continues to be subsumed into larger human rights narratives.

Challenges in the diaspora of time and space

Both Rani and Dewi communicated the importance of their work to counter the continued denial and silencing of the event, as well as their fears about the rise of anti-Chinese sentiment with the jailing of Ahok, the Christian Chinese Indonesian ex-Jakarta Governor for blasphemy charges in 2017 (Setijadi 2017).[20] While artistic representation is often considered a safe space, particularly in the diaspora where there is geographical distance, the experiences of Rani and Dewi challenge this assumption. Rani questions how safe it is to engage in this process, stressing how the making of *Chinese Whispers* has sometimes caused her anxiety and secondary trauma, as she had to keep exposing herself to horrific stories. Rani's secondary trauma reveals challenges in terms of 'time' or temporal distance, whereby artists and their audiences in the diaspora can still be deeply affected by an event that happened twenty years ago.

Dewi and Rani's 2018 commemorative works were also inspired by their earlier 2014 acts of commemoration to gain public engagement with and acknowledgement of the specific gendered ethnic violence against Chinese Indonesian women. For Rani, it was with the larger multicultural audience in Melbourne, although she also specifically tried to engage the Chinese Indonesian diasporic community through presentations at their Indonesian language churches prior to the festival in 2014.[21] Dewi's 2014 non-fiction book was launched in Jakarta and it tells the story of Komnas Perempuan's (Anggraeni 2014) role in helping out the survivors and victims' families. This non-fiction book engaged a broader non-ethnic specific community, but one concerned with gender violence issues. In comparing the socio-political contexts of the different commemorations, Dewi in particular felt that there was more resistance towards and negative feedback about her most recent work.

Dewi commented on the negative feedback she received online about her 2017 novel, *My Pain My Country*.[22] This was remarkably different to the reception of her previous 2014 Indonesian language non-fictional book *Tragedi Mei 1998*.[23] Two factors led Dewi to write a fictional novel in English.

The first was a request by Indonesian readers for an English version of her book *Tragedi Mei 1998* that received almost all positive comments and feedback. Second was Dewi's story in Rani's digital graphic novel of meeting a female survivor in Melbourne, which inspired Dewi to write a fictional English language novel. She believed that to reach a wider English speaking audience a fictional novel would be a better medium as the story would have a more emotional impact than in a direct translation of her Indonesian book *Tragedi Mei 1998*.[24] Even though *My Pain My County* is a fictional novel, Dewi states that the Indonesians who made negative comments about her book on social media perceived that she had written the book as a way of shaming and painting a negative image of Indonesia internationally through an English novel. Dewi thus believes the resistance to her work and her right to represent the event is because of her location in the diaspora. 'The person that made the negative comments online might have only read the title and misread it as my country is a pain', Dewi maintains.[25]

Furthermore, social media coverage of Dewi's book on the site *Australia Plus* attracted derogatory and negative comments on their Facebook timeline.[26] It was claimed that being located outside of Indonesia, Dewi had no right to write about the May 1998 events.[27] However, she explained that it was precisely this distance that *allowed* her to write about those events.[28] Dewi's statement is contextualised within a particular situation in Indonesia, where individuals and organisations concerned with this issue continue to be intimidated, particularly if they depict Indonesia in an unfavourable light internationally. Diaspora as a space thus becomes a double-edged sword whereby it presents both an opportunity to contest dominant representation and a challenge as the 'authenticity' of Dewi's voice is contested.

In comparison, Rani tried to breach the time and space gap of being located in the diaspora by creating her digital graphic novel in Jakarta with a local team (animators, illustrators and IT specialists) of various ethnic backgrounds. In addition, she had the first launch of the Indonesian version at four events in Jakarta and the first launch of her English version in Ubud, Bali. Rani described the difference in reception from the diasporic community in Melbourne to the positive reception of the one of the first Jakarta launches in May 2018 at the Atma Jaya private Catholic University.[29] It could be argued that the Jakarta launch was an event where Rani was presenting her work to audiences who related to her story and the characters in it. Certainly, some audience members (older activists and journalists who were active during 1998) were able to relate to the story, but many younger members—including Catholic youth of Chinese Indonesian ethnicity—had no knowledge of the ethnic and gendered violence. Similarly, there was a level of acceptance at the International Ubud Writers and Readers Festival where Rani launched the English version of *Chinese Whispers*. The challenge of time, space and diasporic location therefore was dependent on the audiences the two women were engaging with and whether their commemorative 'performative acts' were intended to preserve a community identity, traditions, and the very existence of the Chinese

Indonesian diasporic group (cf. Fortier 2000). It is precisely because the question of a community identity as Indonesian is more heightened at the Melbourne commemorative event that the works of Rani and Dewi in particular becomes more contested in this diasporic space.

Conclusion

Commemorative acts allow people to remember and exchange ideas. They also serve to raise awareness, which is particularly significant in contexts where there is limited knowledge or acknowledgement of past events. The works of Rani Pramesti and Dewi Anggraeni discussed in this chapter show how female activist-artists and writers have addressed the gendered and ethnic violence of May 1998. Their works build on deeply personal memories of this violence that have been shared between generations of women, with familial ties prominent both in Rani's digital novel *Chinese Whispers* and Dewi's book *My Pain My Country*. While personal stories are at the basis of both Dewi and Rani's work, at the same time they speak of histories of Chinese Indonesians, especially those in the diaspora. Memories may thus be individual, but they are also part of a broader context.

In turning the lens to the sexual attacks experienced by women, Rani and Dewi challenge the notion that such violence is 'unspeakable'. However, their works goes beyond merely speaking about sexual violence. As argued in this chapter, their works constitute human rights practices, as they are examples of how social actors talk about *and* advocate for human rights. Specifically, their works call for Indonesia to face its violent past and to deliver justice to those that have been victimised. In turn, this forms the basis for tolerance between Indonesia's ethnic groups.

However, this chapter has also shown that speaking about gendered and ethnic violence is not without difficulties. This is not only because of the difficult issues they work with, increasing risks of secondary trauma, but also because commemorations remain contested. We argue that these contestations are heightened in the diaspora, where there is an increased emphasis on 'Indonesian' identity—rather than one that is specifically Chinese Indonesian. In this chapter we have identified that these contestations come, first, from the ongoing dominance of male narratives of the violence, which show that women still are faced with barriers when communicating about this part of history. Second, gendered and ethnic violence continues to be subsumed in a broader context of human rights violations that were committed in a transition from an authoritarian regime, which means that stories about the specific experiences of women are often lost. A third challenge is the othering of Chinese Indonesians in the diaspora, whereby their physical presence outside of Indonesia supposedly disqualifies them from speaking about these events.

Despite these challenges, Rani and Dewi—as well as other women like Elina—have spoken up in their own ways. They may pave the way for more voices of Chinese Indonesian women, in turn challenging dominant narratives

on the May 1998 violence both in Indonesia and beyond. It is through their voices that we can understand how Indonesia's past continues to reverberate across time and space.

Notes

1 Interview with Rani, 2 December 2016.
2 Interview with Dewi, 17 November 2018.
3 Although in this chapter we use the term Chinese Indonesians, it is important to point out that this is not a homogenous group. There are many differences between Chinese Indonesians, including in terms of economic background, religion and political orientation. Despite the heterogeneous nature of the Chinese Indonesian community, Indonesian authorities generally consider them as a homogenous group.
4 In addition, it identified 16 cases of sexual violence in Solo, Medan, Palembang and Surabaya.
5 Personal communication with former member of Volunteers for Humanity, April 2018.
6 Email from Rani Pramesti to Monika S. Winarnita, 15 May 2018.
7 Monika S. Winarnita, who is of mixed-Chinese Indonesian heritage herself, was invited by Rani Pramesti and Dewi Anggraeni to attend the event after interviewing them as part of her anthropological research engagement in the Indonesian diasporic community in Melbourne. She received La Trobe University funding and ethics approval for fieldwork and interviews. Ken M.P. Setiawan was asked to speak in a panel on human rights issues in Indonesia, placing the May 1998 violence in the broader context of Indonesia's human rights history.
8 Pramesti's digital graphic novel is available at http://thechinesewhispers.com (last accessed 11 February 2018).
9 Personal communication with Elina Simbolon, 19 February 2019.
10 Interview with Rani, 2 December 2016, via Skype.
11 Trailer for *Chinese Whispers* 2018 featuring comments by visitors to the 2014 Melbourne Fringe Festival interactive art installation: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7fWCD6AjS_M&feature=youtu.be (last accessed 9 February 2019).
12 Ibid.
13 Lunchtime seminar presentation by Rani Pramesti via Zoom video conference from Jakarta at La Trobe University, 30 November 2017.
14 Rani's Indonesian language version of her digital graphic novel was presented in Indonesia at various locations, including Atma Jaya University in Jakarta (May 2018), the Makassar International Writers Festival (May 2018) and the exhibition House of the Unsilenced (Jakarta, September 2018). The English version was also launched at the Ubud Writers and Readers Festival (November 2018).
15 Lunchtime seminar presentation by Dewi Anggraeni at La Trobe University, 30 November 2017, and interview with Dewi Anggraeni, 8 May 2018.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Dewi Anggraeni interviewed and featured in Chapter 2, 'Becoming a Witness', of *Chinese Whispers*.
19 Interview with Rani, 19 November 2018.
20 Lunchtime seminar presentation and discussion with Rani over zoom video conference from Jakarta with PowerPoint about Ahok, anti-Chinese sentiment and her work-in-progress digital graphic novel, and Dewi Anggraeni presenting her book recently launched and speaking about her motivation for writing the book at La Trobe University, 30 November 2017.

21 Interview with Rani, 2 December 2016, via Skype.
22 Lunchtime seminar presentation by Dewi Anggraeni at La Trobe University, 30 November 2017; and interview with Dewi Anggraeni, 8 May 2018.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Lunchtime seminar presentation by Dewi Anggraeni at La Trobe University, 30 November 2017, and interview with Dewi Anggraeni, 8 May 2018.
26 http://www.australiaplus.com/indonesian/sosok/dewi-anggraeni-buat-novel-berlatar-belakang-kerusuhan-1998/9201362.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Personal communication with Rani at the end of the Melbourne community event, 19 May 2018.

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7 Caring for the un-speakable

Coercive pedagogies, shame, and the structural violence continuum in Indisch intergenerational memory work

Ana Dragojlovic

> My father's desperation haunts me for life.
>
> —Alfred Birney (Freriks 2016)[1]

Over the last decade, Indisch (Indo-Dutch)[2] personal and collective memory work has been preoccupied with the figure of a violent Indisch father who, having lived through Japanese internment camps during the Second World War and the Indonesian independence movement (*bersiap*), developed Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and consequently became brutal towards his children and other family members. In these discursive politics of memory, Indisch women who lived through the same conditions are not portrayed as subjects that inflict violence, but rather as powerful and vivacious temptresses and enchantresses, or as the helpless victims of cruel Japanese soldiers. This dichotomy of violent, pathologised Indisch masculinity and vivacious, victimised Indisch femininity echoes colonial categories of interracial psychopathology and perpetuates colonial heteronormative frameworks.[3]

Further, this politics of memory locates the accountability for the original violence exclusively in the racialised other – the Japanese people who, prior to their occupation of the Netherlands East Indies, were described as 'intrusive, repulsive and subhuman, as people with an evil nature' (Buchheim 2007, p. 268), and inhumanity of the *pemuda* – the Indonesian freedom fighters (Hollander 2008). As I argue in this chapter, such normative, gendered and racialised politics of memory work to conceal rather than reveal the complexities of the physical and emotional violence that many Indisch people experience across generations.

Based on a cultural analysis of the lyrical opus of Wouter Muller, a popular Indisch musician, and related ethnographic material, I aim to challenge the way that Indisch violence is singularly allocated to the figure of the psychopathologically disturbed Indisch father. This is of course not to claim that psychopathologies of violence cannot be, and are not, located within particular individuals, but rather to examine the legal, political and economic conditions under which such violence occurs. Following feminist scholarship (Das 2008; Merry 2009), my analysis argues for an urgent need to discuss gendered violence not according to the binary logic of 'victims' and 'perpetrators', but rather, as embedded in power relations that are themselves encased within

larger structures of inequality and power. Such an approach requires close attention to be paid to the operations of colonial and post-colonial power relations, racism and heteronormativity, thereby allowing us to see beyond simple categorisations of pathologised masculinity and victimised femininity. Indeed, this approach allows us not only to see beyond the binary of 'victims' and 'perpetrators', and 'violent men' and 'victimised women', but also to trace the histories of intergenerational violence, wherein gendered violence is an integral part of what I refer to as the *structural violence continuum*. In this chapter, I chart the manifestations of the structural violence continuum by tracing the affective reverberations of violence across generations through the switching continuum of verbal and non-verbal articulations of violence. The analysis of Indisch memory work will demonstrate that affective traces of violence across generations may be inclusive of, but are not limited to, individual gender identities and intimate relationships.

Thus, this chapter is concerned with *the effects of* and ways to *care for* intergenerational suffering brought about by wide-ranging forms of structural inequalities, both historical and contemporary, that bear on individual and collective bodies of Indisch people. Charting the intergenerational effects of violence, it demonstrates that such effects cannot be compartmentalised under a reductive rubric of 'domestic violence', 'racist violence', or as isolated instances of violence that can be understood as individual or family psychopathology. Neither can such multi-layered forms of violence be relegated to a singular nation state or specific regime of power. Rather, the multifaceted forms of violence and ways of caring for their effects discussed here need to be situated within the multiplicity of gendered and racialised forms of marginalisation during the colonial period of the Netherlands East Indies; the gendered and racial violence performed against Indisch people during the Japanese occupation (1942–45); the racialised and gendered hierarchies of power that dictated how the newly emerging Republic of Indonesia delineated who was and was not a loyal citizen (and thus allowed only certain people to live during the Indonesian war for independence (1945–49); and the ongoing whitewashing that Indisch people experience in the post-colonial Dutch state. Here, the 'post' in post-colonial does not refer to a linearity that demarcates all time 'after' colonialism, but rather, as feminist scholars have argued, stands to 'mark spaces of ongoing contestation enabled by decolonization' (Frankenberg and Mani 1996, p. 275; see also Ahmed 2000; Dragojlovic 2016). In the case discussed here, the 'post' also refers to the ongoing structural inequalities that sustain the effects of violence across generations.

In recent decades, the intergenerational effects of violence have been studied across several different fields, such as psychoanalysis (Abraham and Torok 1994), memory studies (Hirsch 2008; Hirsch and Smith 2002), critical psychology, cultural and gender studies (Blackman 2012; Cho 2008; Dragojlovic 2018; Walkerdine 2010), anthropology (Argenti and Schramm 2010; Kidron 2012), neurobiology and epigenetics (Yehuda 2006), and medical humanities (Dragojlovic and Broom 2017). This chapter charts how the forms of care for

intergenerational effects of violence embraced by Indisch memory workers in the Netherlands are embedded in a switching continuum of verbal and non-verbal articulation, rather than being firmly located in the entrenched binary model of speech versus traumatised silence that is often used to demarcate healthy from traumatised individuals within the literature around the psychopathology of trauma.[4] Paying close attention to the un-speakable in personal and collective intergenerational memory work, the chapter explores what constitutes un-speakability, and what and under which circumstances becomes un-speakable. This discussion provides a backdrop against which to analyse the work of care in which memory workers engage. This approach will highlight that the normative, racialised and gendered memory work that paints the picture of 'violent fathers' and 'victimised women' constitutes a zone of speakability, and in the process evacuates the most painful and un-speakable.

While Indisch memory work is immensely diverse (Dragojlovic 2014; Pattynama 2014), the rich lyrical opus of Wouter Muller and related ethnographic material provides a plethora of insights into what is beyond the normative in Indisch memory work. Muller's opus spans four solo albums, all of which engage in Indisch themes and are primarily concerned with 'typical Indisch silence' (*typische Indisch zwijgen*). In analysing his lyrics and broader ethnographies of Indisch memory work, I chart how and why certain forms of violence, coercion and marginalisation are openly addressed, while others remain in the sphere of un-speakability. I argue that Muller and those who consume his music engage in *work of care for the un-speakable* – an emotional labour intended to alleviate intergenerational suffering. I argue that such work of care is haunted by the affective presence of intergenerational shame produced by both historical and contemporary forms of structural violence. In what follows, I offer a brief overview of Indisch history, then follow it by outlining the contours of the analytical lens that I employ in this chapter, which sits at the intersection of affect studies and hauntology. These sections in turn serve as a prelude to my analysis of Muller's lyrics and related ethnographic material.

Indisch beginnings

The formation of Indisch communities dates back to the early seventeenth century, when European (mainly Dutch) men in the Dutch East Indies began to engage in intimate relationships with local Indonesian women. These intimacies were formed either through informal intimate relationships with the so-called *nyai* (concubine, housekeeper) or through the institution of legal marriage. Over the centuries, interracial intimacies were accepted as long as they followed prescribed gender, race and class patterns (Locher-Scholten 2000; Stoler 2002; Taylor 1983). Similar to Eurasian communities in other colonial contexts, Indisch people and communities in the Dutch East Indies occupied an ambivalent space – on the one hand, they were granted privileges reserved for Europeans, but on the other, they were able to move between European and Indonesian worlds (McClintock 1995; Stoler 2002). In the Netherlands East

Indies, the population was divided into three seemingly clear categories: Europeans (*Europeanen*), natives (*Inlanders*) and Foreign Asians (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*). While each of these categories was multilayered, the category of 'European' was particularly complex (Stoler 2002). Prior to 1900, the Europeans were divided into two main categories: permanent and temporary residents. The permanent colonial residents (*Blijvers*) included people of multiracial descent and 'pure' whites (*Blanda totok*). Indisch people acquired the juridical status of 'European' only after their father was formally recognised as such (Pattynama 2000). In the 1900s, a new group of temporary 'white' colonisers arrived in the Dutch East Indies and formed a new high class. Their arrival significantly diminished the social and economic status of those long-term permanent residents who were of multiracial descent (Gouda 1995).

During the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies (1942–45), people of Indisch descent were given the opportunity to avoid being interned in the Japanese camps if they succeeded in proving a desirable degree of Indonesian descent (de Jong 2002; Dragojlovic 2015b). Approximately 100,000 Dutch and Eurasian people were interned in the camps, while some 220,000 Indisch people were permitted to remain outside of the camps (de Jong 2002, p. 905). Living conditions were especially harsh for women and children, both inside and outside of the prison camps (Hack and Blackburn 2008; McGregor this volume; Protschky, Chapter 3 this volume). Many Indisch people suffered terrifying brutalities perpetrated by Indonesians during the initial period of the Indonesian independence movement (1945–46), known as the *bersiap* period (Anderson 1972). Following the formal recognition of Indonesian independence in 1949, Indisch people who were recognised as Dutch citizens were forced to leave, and many moved to the Netherlands, the United States, Canada and Australia (Bosma, Raben and Willems 2006).

Indisch memory and genealogy work

This chapter has emerged out of an ongoing ethnographic research project investigating Indisch peoples' interest in and practices of unearthing knowledge about their family's and the collective's histories (Dragojlovic 2011, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2018). In that project, I have employed a transgenerational ethnographic analysis to examine how those of multiracial Indisch descent conceptualise the legitimising rules of the colonial empire, post-colonial nation-states, self, ethnicity and race.[5] My approach has included collecting life narratives told in semi-structured, open-ended interviews over a period of several years by Indisch people living in the Netherlands, Australia, Canada, and the United States.

Scholarly work on Indisch identity politics in the Netherlands has been predominantly focused on the analysis of *tempo doeloe*: a specific form of colonial nostalgia that implies a longing for the 'good old days' of the Dutch East Indies (De Mul 2011; Pattynama 2000, 2003, 2014). Based on an analysis of Indisch film and literature (Pattynama 2014) and of the Indisch photo

collection of the *Indies Wetenschappelijk Instituut* (IWI) (2011), Indisch cultural theorist Pamela Pattynama has argued that *tempo doeloe* has been crucial in constituting a 'memorial community' of Indisch people in the Netherlands. Stressing the diversity and complexity of Indisch engagements in nostalgic longing for *tempo doeloe*, Pattynama refers to it as a 'contradictory nostalgia', making a distinction between Indisch migrants who migrated from independent Indonesia and felt *kesasar* (dislocated), and their descendants, who were preoccupied with uncertainty (Pattynama 2003). Anthropologist Lizzy van Leeuwen has importantly argued that *tempo doeloe* cultural production ignores the multiplicity of Indisch voices in the Netherlands, producing a hegemonic discourse about Indisch people (van Leeuwen 2008, p. 17).

My ethnographic material urges me to suggest that *tempo doeloe*, with its representations of a life of leisure in the tropical climate of the Dutch East Indies that is unproblematically embedded in the celebration of an opulent lifestyle, as well as the economic and racial hierarchies that distinguished the colonisers from the local population, represents a zone of *speakability*. Memories of domestic violence, bitter family intrigues, and the social, economic, religious and racial inequalities that Indisch people experienced prior to the 1940s that emerged in the ethnographic data, remain, in contrast, unspoken in *tempo doeloe* cultural production.

The romance of the past of the Netherlands East Indies is entrenched in a denial of gendered and racial hierarchies, and of the increased stigmatisation of Indisch people by the white colonial elite in the late colonial period (Meijer 2004, p. 10; Dragojlovic 2014, 2015b). These normative modalities of remembering also omit the various forms of structural violence that permeated the colonial period of the Netherlands East Indies and that have continued into the post-colonial Dutch state. The structural violence mentioned here does not solely implicate the white Dutch post-colonial elite, but also the Indisch people who actively participate in the production and perpetuation of racialised, economic, social and gendered hierarchies. Such contradictions, as well as the presumed right to racial and socio-economic privileges claimed by Indisch former residents of the Netherlands East Indies, commonly produce feelings of discomfort, shame or embarrassment among the descendants of Indisch former residents, who struggle to position themselves within their larger family histories (see also Dragojlovic 2011, 2014, 2015b, 2018). I have previously argued that the descendants of migrants associate colonial times and ancestral homelands with narrative strategies of exclusion and containment, as well as *tempo doeloe* discourses, as generative of a collective victimhood (Dragojlovic 2014).

In this chapter, I aim to broaden my earlier argument about narrative strategies of exclusion and containment (Dragojlovic 2014) to suggest that, while migrants from the Dutch East Indies developed conscious strategies about what they wanted to talk about and what they wanted to remain silent about, it is equally important to pay close attention to the visceral and affective presence of distress that pervades their everyday lives. This urges an

analysis that situates itself within a *structural violence continuum* in order to outline the affective presence of various forms of violence across generations. In paying close attention to the dynamics along which the structural violence continuum transpires, I mobilise affect theory and hauntology scholarship to chart how Muller's lyrics and performances allow for ghostly figures of family coercion, and the affective presence of the shame that accompanies exclusion from full citizenship in the Dutch post-colonial state to emerge.

Intergenerational hauntings

'Affect' has variously been described as autonomous, non-representational, trans-subjective, immaterial and non-conscious (Blackman and Venn 2010; Seigworth and Gregg 2010; Massumi 2002; Thrift 2008), referring to processes that circulate among bodies (Blackman 2012; Brennan 2004; Dragojlovic 2015b, 2018) and between bodies and their environments (Dragojlovic 2015a; Navaro-Yashin 2012). I find the emphasis on the visceral, non-representational and trans-subjective in affect theory to be immensely useful for thinking through ethnographies that require attention not only to what is said, but to the textures of experiences that challenge the articulation of straightforward narratives (see also Dragojlovic 2015b, 2018). Scholarship from the field of hauntology also provides inspiring insights that enable us to think with unspeakability in intergenerational memory work. While an engagement with the full extent of this body of scholarship is beyond the scope of this chapter, I will engage with the work of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok (1994), Grace Cho (2008) and Avery Gordon (2008) as they engage with intergenerational hauntings in the aftermaths of cataclysmic violence.

Based on their research with the adult children of Holocaust survivors and others with collective traumatic histories in the 1960s, psychoanalysts Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok (1994) introduced a theory of intergenerational transmission of phantoms created by collective experiences of trauma. Abraham and Torok were particularly interested in the transmission of family secrets from one generation to another. They persuasively argued that the haunting effects of such transmissions are not mainly produced by the original trauma, but by the fact that this trauma has been kept a secret and/or as a fabrication, and by disregard for the past (1994). Inspired by Abraham and Torok's work, and based on her own experiences of growing up as a Korean-American, Grace Cho (2008) offers a nuanced analysis of the intergenerational transmission of memory. Her focus is on *yanggongju* – Korean women who acted as sex workers for US servicemen in Korea and who subsequently became war brides who pioneered Korean migration to the United States. Cho's careful analysis reveals how systematic erasure—an enforced forgetting of *yanggongju*—permeates the consciousness of the Korean diaspora. She argues that the *yanggongju* become the bearers of secrets about Korean War traumas; ghostly figures who are at the same time both present and absent: '[it] moves in and out of visibility' (2008, p. 14).

In her seminal work, *Ghostly Matters*, sociologist Avery Gordon persuasively argues that 'haunting' is neither pre-modern superstition nor individual psychosis, but an important sociological phenomenon (2008, p. xvi). She argues that diverse forms of historical injustice, from slavery to the disappeared in Argentina; from the 'war on terror' to torture and deportation and those who were seemingly forgotten, can illuminate the injustices suffered through the act of haunting. For Gordon, haunting is an animated state through which unresolved and repressed social violence makes itself known (2008, p. xvi). In hauntings as a social phenomenon, a ghost is not only a missing or deceased person, but a social figure who is deeply implicated in social life and crucial for the production of subjectivities and histories (2008, p. x). Importantly, Gordon contends that:

> [Haunting] always registers the harm inflicted or the loss sustained by a social violence done in the past or in the present. But haunting, unlike trauma, is distinctive for producing *something-to-be-done* […]. [H]aunting [is] precisely the domain of turmoil and trouble, the moment […] when things are not in their assigned places [;] when people who are meant to be invisible show up without any sign of leaving, when disturbed feelings cannot be put away, when something else […seems] like it must be done. (2008, p. xvi; *emphasis added*)

Here, as in some of my previous work where I investigated affective attachments to historical violence beyond the psychopathology of trauma (Dragojlovic 2018; Dragojlovic and Broom 2017), I find Gordon's delineation of haunting as an affective force that propels *something-to-be-done* immensely useful for the analysis of the Wouter Muller's cultural production and the ethnographic material at hand. The insights from affect theory and hauntology I have outlined here provide the building blocks for my approach to the *structural violence continuum* as an affective matrix of the intergenerational effects of structural violence.

'*Indisch, Maar dan Anders*' (Indisch, but Otherwise)[6]

They used to come together,
but now they are leaving, one by one,
the people of the first generation.
…Who knows anything about
their frustrations.
About their anger, about their pain
to be a stranger here,
without respect, without rights.
There is so much, so much that has not been said.
—'*Orang Belanda Blues*' ('Dutch Person's
Blues', in Indonesian), Wouter Muller[7]

Indisch singer, song-writer and composer Wouter Muller was born in the city of Bandung in West Java in 1947. The texts of his songs are based on personal experience, and have a storyline that endeavours to speak to a multiplicity of deeply contentious topics in the Indisch personal and collective memory. Specifically, these songs are preoccupied with the 'typical Indisch silence' (*typische Indisch zwijgen*). Muller distinguishes himself from the earlier Indorock genre, which Indisch migrants developed in the 1950s and 1960s (see Pattynama 2014), by engaging with pop and reggae in his opus and refers to his cultural production as 'Indisch but otherwise' (*Indisch, maar dan anders*). All of Muller's lyrics are in Dutch, with the occasional use of Indonesian words familiar to his audience.

In his life narrative, which he shared with me, Muller stresses that the time in history in which he was born is referred to in the Netherlands as 'after the War' (meaning after the Second World War). Yet according to an Indisch narration of history, he was born *between* the two wars: between the end of Japanese occupation and the war in the Pacific, and the start of the Indonesian war for independence. Both of his parents were Indisch, born in the Netherlands East Indies. His father was employed in the Dutch army as a sergeant, while his mother worked as a nurse. Both were taken captive by the Japanese and imprisoned in two camps that were infamous for the exercise of extreme forms of violence – his father in Banyubiru, and his mother in Ambarawa, a prison for women and children.

United after the end of the Japanese occupation, Muller parents settled in the city of Bandung where their three children were born and where they lived under difficult circumstances during the Indonesian struggle for independence. Being Dutch citizens and perceived collaborators of the Dutch imperial forces, in 1952, all of the members of Muller's extended family were forced to leave Indonesia. A lack of accommodation for migrants from the Netherlands East Indies in the then war-torn Netherlands posed additional difficulties for the Muller family. Muller's mother suffered from a bad form of tuberculosis and had to be hospitalised for several years, while his father, unable to find employment and experiencing what Muller to as 'tremendous difficulties in dealing with the ghosts of his war memories', left the family and migrated to the US. Left on their own, Muller and his two brothers were put into an orphanage, to be finally reunited with their mother after four difficult years.

While Muller has been musically active since his early teenage years, his lyrics were not initially concerned with Indisch themes. This changed when, in his early fifties, he learned that his father and his father's second wife had migrated from the United States to retire in the Netherlands. Muller, the abandoned son, and his long-estranged father (who had cut off all contact 43 years earlier) met again in 1998. Muller narrated how the difficult first meeting led to many others, until the father and son found a common ground in understanding each other's struggles. It was at that time that Muller realised how little he knew about his parents' life, and how much the trauma they had experienced had influenced his early childhood and life. He also began to

develop a deep sense of respect and appreciation for his parents and for other people of a similar generation who had been through similar experiences. The genealogy work Muller undertook at the time inspired the production of four albums with lyrics concerned with broader Indisch genealogy work, which resulted in numerous performances in the Netherlands, Australia, and on his 'roots tours' through Indonesia.

The language Muller uses to describe the emotional experiences of his genealogy work, both when narrating his life narrative and through his lyrics, acknowledge his past grievances towards his parents. In doing so, his intention was to make his family history and his feelings public, hoping to engage the painful emotions he knew many other Indisch people of his generation were struggling with. Three main themes predominate Muller's lyrics: firstly, encouraging others to commence genealogy work; secondly, offering deep respect to his parents and forgiving them for their many years of silence, absence and behaviour that was difficult to comprehend; and finally, pondering a deeply felt sense of disconnection with both Indonesia and the Netherlands, and urging Indisch people to value their attachment to their home town(s) in the Netherlands, despite any racial and cultural othering that they might experience. Muller's self-disclosure through his lyrics and the narration of his autobiography gained him a large audience, as well as involvement in various projects with similar goals. It also encouraged and inspired other Indisch people to begin the search for their own family's past.

The following section explores how intergenerational un-speakability reverberates through the ghostly traces of family and state coercions. I look at how Muller's lyrics are haunted by intergenerational un-speakability about parents' coercive pedagogies, and a deep-seated sense of shame for feeling like inadequate citizens.

Intergenerational un-speakability: ghostly emanation of coercion and shame

> Daddy, I want to ask you so much
> about you, and the KNIL,[8] and all those days,
> that are in our past,
> that are concealed, hidden and repressed,
> but why are these questions too much for you?
>
> O, Daddy,
> Why didn't you say anything all those years?
> Why did you choose such an unequal fight?
> —'Daddy', Wouter Muller[9]

While Wouter Muller's musical corpus is concerned with his personal genealogy work, it closely echoes the experiences, feelings and aspirations of many Indisch people of his generation. Many of my interlocutors reported that Muller 'knows the heart and soul of Indisch people' and 'speaks for them', and that going to his

concerts 'relieves the burden from their shoulders'. Asked to describe the similarities between their own feelings and what Muller's musical corpus represents for them, many reported a lack of understanding life experiences of their parents that preceded their birth. Without exception, my interlocutors stressed that they had grown up in an atmosphere of 'typical Indisch silence' (*typische Indisch zwijgen*), which many felt had generated a very distinct sense of malaise that ran deeply, but was often difficult to articulate verbally. Their parents' difficult pasts pervaded their own presents, creating an atmosphere in which past sufferings were simultaneously elusive and omnipresent, and frequently producing a sense of othering among the children as they struggled to navigate their everyday lives. While the notion of silence, secrets and hidden knowledge within Indisch families is frequently referred to as 'typically Indisch', the common understanding is that what has been silenced or only whispered about are detailed particularities about past suffering caused by war, sexual coercion, relatives excluded from families for not conforming to the demands of heteronormative citizenship, and, most pertinently, uncertainties about parental demands, despair, and aggression.

In my interlocutors' narratives, biological and social parents as well as extended family members engaged in physical and emotional violence against their children and each other, ranging from physical abuse and emotional withdrawal to various forms of marginalisation and exclusion. With a complex mixture of sadness, anger and shame, many of my interlocutors struggled to share their memories of the various forms of family coercion and violence they experienced and witnessed as children. Most of those who migrated to the Netherlands as children were acutely aware of the tremendous difficulties their parents lived through in the 1940s and 1950s. However, torn between a sense of empathy for their parents, other family members and their own memories of witnessing violence and experiencing coercive pedagogies, my interlocutors, who were well into their fifties, sixties and seventies, were still grappling to reconcile their strong emotions about their childhood experiences.

What seemed to pose the most difficulty in recalling such memories was a sense of childhood vulnerability and confusion about parental demands. Many argued that while the Dutch language had been a primary language for their family prior to their migration to the Netherlands, Indonesian had generally also been used regularly in everyday communication in the Dutch East Indies. For many, this changed dramatically when the family moved to the Netherlands and Indonesian became forbidden. Muller and numerous interlocutors mentioned being slapped across face, or being forced to rinse their mouths out with soap and water, every time they used Indonesian words. Yet, as my interlocutors remembered, the parents themselves often used Indonesian words and did other 'Indisch things'.

The memories of being yelled at, slapped and called *kancing* (button, a derogatory term for an Indisch person) if they attempted to eat with their hands were an important part in my interlocutors' narratives of confusion about their parents' behaviour. Several of my interlocutors remembered these coercive pedagogical measures being accompanied by statements such as 'the

Indies are over, finished! We live here now!' (see also Dragojlovic 2015a). Others recalled being sent to bed without dinner, or being left locked out of the house during the night. Some evoked experiences of severe beatings that various family members inflicted on each other. While memories of why and how these forms of violence took place or how the wounds were healed remained hazy, my interlocutors reported always knowing that what was going on had to do with the Indies. Unlike in the normative gendered and racialised memory framework of violent men and victimised women, in my interlocutors' narratives, carers of various genders and ages engaged in various forms of coercion that differed in degree and kind.

Several of my interlocutors ferociously insisted that their parents were just 'normal' people and if they sometimes raised their voice, or were strict, that was for the good of the children. One woman born in the early 1950s, shortly after the arrival of her parents in the Netherlands, passionately stressed that

> back then, parenting was different from what it is now. Our parents went through horrors in the camps and during the *bersiap*. They had no idea about 'family violence' as it is talked about today. They wanted the best for us children. That's why they left Indonesia, so that we could have better lives.

Narrating her admiration for Muller's music, she stressed that after many years he finally understood his parents' suffering, had forgiven them for how they treated their children, and was inviting others to do the same. The qualities she ascribed to Muller's lyrics and performances spoke clearly of works of care, both for the self and for others in similar circumstances.

Another female interlocutor who was two years old when her family arrived in the Netherlands in the early 1950s stated with mixed feelings of rage and a desire to defend her parents' actions:

> Without any personal possessions, struggling to find any kind of employment, our parents did not really have many options – aside from convincing us to becoming like everybody else, so that the white Dutch people would not continue to ask us 'How come you are brown and you speak Dutch'.

Echoing the demands of heterosexual regimes of femininity, it was predominantly my female interlocutors who were at pains to act as dutiful daughters, showing understanding, respect, and support for parents regardless of harms inflicted on them by their carers.

While it might be easy to make a correlation between the parents' experiences of violence and torture in the Japanese prison camps with the violent and coercive pedagogical measures they used on their children, it is important also to stress the impact of the Dutch cultural assimilation politics of the time. These politics were framed by the structural racism and discrimination

that informed many of the social policies of the time, including social housing, which was not granted to families that appeared to be 'too Asian' or 'too oriented towards the East' (Mak 2000, p. 250). As such, while the parents or extended family members might seem to have been the main figures of coercion, the ghostly presence of state-engineered and everyday experiences of racism provides an important structural background against which to situate experiences of family coercion and violence.

While, in my interlocutors' narratives, the banishment of Indonesian words is associated with their parents' arrival in the Netherlands, it is important to stress that these coercive pedagogies also served to whitewash local Indonesian influences in many Indisch families in the Netherlands East Indies prior to the Japanese occupation (see Dragojlovic 2015b; Vos 2010). Coercive measures were also used to force daughters to marry white Dutch men of high economic standing, or indeed 'any white man', as several of my interlocutors stressed (see also Dragojlovic 2014). This is the heteronormative transactional economy of exoticised interracial femininity, through which Indisch young women served as currency for the achievement of white privilege for her extended families. Coercive pedagogies reveal the multiplicity of everyday forms of violence that were brought about by unequal power relations between those who were unproblematically considered to be 'European' in the Netherlands East Indies society, and those who, despite the legal recognition of their status as 'European', needed to continuously reconfirm their claim to whiteness.

My interlocutors' struggle to speak about family coercion stemmed from an acute sense of shame for not being able to experience themselves as accomplished individuals worthy of their parents' suffering, which the parents often claimed they had undergone in order to provide better homes for their children. Living with a visceral, affective, embodied presence of feeling fearful, uncertain, insecure, inadequate, undeserving and other similar feelings of shame, my interlocutors navigated a world of un-speakability which allowed them to both acknowledge their feelings but also to disguise their sense of inadequacies and perceived failures.

Thus, the experiences of family coercion narrated by Muller my other interlocutors cannot be simply relegated to the domain of 'domestic' or 'family' violence, 'physical' or 'psychological', or being a predisposition of men and not women. Nor can these experiences only be associated with their parents' previous war experiences. The unequal power relations that structure both legal and cultural belonging, both in the colonial society and the post-colonial nation state, are instrumental in contextualising the circumstances under which the coercion and violence took place. They need to be analysed alongside the racism of the post-colonial state ingrained in social policies, as well as the experiences of everyday racism my interlocutors talked about.

'The Doubt'

In his life narrative, Muller stressed that he did not see himself as any different from the other Dutch citizens until he was spat on and called '*pinda*' (peanut)

in the Netherlands following a train hijacking by a group of Moluccans in 1977 that lasted for a few weeks, leaving several people dead.[10] While the train hijacking stands, in many narratives, for the beginning of open racism, such narratives are intertwined with accounts of 'correcting' one's Dutch to speak like 'everyone else' in one's childhood, and of parental desperation to demonstrate that they learned more about the Dutch language, environment and culture in the Netherlands East Indies than the Dutch people who grew up in the Netherlands. The uncertain pondering about one's belonging is the central topic of one of Muller's much-loved songs, '*De Twijfel*' ('The Doubt').[11] In this song, Muller employs the gendered understanding of a nation through the use of the terms, 'motherland' and 'fatherland', to delineate connections to Indonesian (female) and Dutch (male) ancestors.[12]

> If the motherland is gone,
> because mother is no longer.
> And the new fatherland does not feel
> like a father's hand.
> Because father does not know
> who the mother was.
>
> Then comes a moment when you want to
> know who you are, from where and
> where to, then the doubt strikes,
> then the doubt strikes.
> …
>
> In your new country, you are not a burden,
> you know your place, you are so adjusted.
> And your motherland
> never says anything again,
> you are so Dutch (almost real).
> Until the moment the doubt strikes.
>
> —'The Doubt', Wouter Muller

The lyrics in both 'The Doubt' and 'Daddy' are saturated with the affective presence of rejection by both parents and the nation state, producing a sense of in-visibility for Muller and people of his generation. The lyrics in both songs are developed on the presumption that parents and the state ought to provide nurturing care for the children, rather than generate a mechanism through which children were othered, as the lyrics depict.

While public narratives and white Dutch historiography (Bosma, Raben and Willems 2006) celebrate the successful assimilation of Indisch people into Dutch society, Indisch cultural theorist Pamela Pattynama argues that in such narratives, Indo-Dutch citizens stand as a sign of the fast-fading image of Dutch tolerance, in which they are 'considered the *objects* rather than the *subjects* of this

success story' (2000, p. 286). Pattynama details accounts of the shame that many Indisch people experienced for feeling like 'inadequate' Dutch citizens (Pattynama 2000). Muller's lyrics, and the other narratives I have outlined, speak volumes about Indisch people's sense of being bodies out of place, and of feeling shame, which gender theorist Elspeth Probyn has described as being 'born out of a desire to fit in' (2005, p. 37). Discussing what she refers to as 'faces of shame', Probyn eloquently details the development of an acute sense of shame in those variously marginalised within a national polity, including migrants and indigenous people, who have a sense of not fitting in within the national norm and develop an 'out-of-place' shame (2005, p. 37).

The lyrics in Muller's song, 'The Doubt', are saturated with the affective presence of intergenerational shame – of those considered to be the 'model minority' (Pattynama 2000) and a success story of assimilation, but who themselves are uncertain and doubtful about 'fitting in'. The feelings of shame are often associated with feelings of withdrawal and silence, yet it is the very feeling of shame that the lyrics of 'The Doubt' and 'Daddy' engage. They evoke the ghostly presence of feeling uncared for, producing affective zones of un-speakability, in which memory workers collectively evoke painful feelings without having to specifically voice the kinds of injuries they have experienced. Thus, they engage in a reparative work of care, constituted by a switching continuum of verbal and non-verbal articulation.

Intergenerational work of care for the un-speakable

The work of care that Muller engages in through his opus has two focal points. First, it is deeply ingrained in the moral economy of caring that demands respectful loyalty to suffering parents. Rather than being morally and ethically neutral, care relations are embedded in complex sets of moralities and obligations that might be underpinned by heteronormative and racialised inequalities (Dragojlovic and Broom 2017, pp. 1–19). Second, this work of care makes an intentional departure from those moral demands by questioning the parents about their silence. Yet, despite such questions, the lyrics remain sanitised of any verbal articulation of Indisch parents' pedagogies of coercion. The construction of the suffering parent, however, generates an affective atmosphere though which descendants can engage in the work of care for the un-speakable.

The moral economy of caring permeates the mobilisation of some of the classic *tempo doeloe* tropes, such as parents' longing for the tropical landscape of the former Netherlands East Indies, and their descendants' ambivalent sense of detachment from such tropes. Many of Muller's lyrics engage with contentious intergenerational connections and often address the parents' generation directly by using Indonesian words, such as in 'Belt of Emerald':[13]

> There is an island in the sun,
> Where in the past it all started.
> More than a memory, our beginning.

That island kingdom, there in the sun,
Where you could no longer stay.
But what you will never forget:
Their *merdeka** was not for you.

[*'Independence' in Indonesian.]
—'Belt of Emerald', Wouter Muller

The evocation of the tropics, described as 'more than a memory' of the beginning of the Indisch people, is evocative of the affective embodied presence of felt dispositions that binds Indisch parents and children together in a sense of deep connection and belonging to the environment in which the parents lived and which their children experience as what I term 'sensuous geographies of absence' (Dragojlovic 2015a). As in classic *tempo doeloe* memory engagements, the first part of the song does not seem to conceal either the parents' feelings or those of their descendants. Instead, it pays homage to the suffering of the parents, and charts the bonds created between suffering parents and their children who grew up in the post-colonial society. The use of the word *merdeka*, however, signals various forms of violence – systemic killings of Indisch people by Indonesian freedom fighters, Indisch participation in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL) against Indonesians, and the exclusion of Indisch people from citizenship in the independent Indonesian nation state. In this evocation, *merdeka* stands for a complex intertwining of racialised and gendered violence embedded in structural inequalities produced by multi-layered forms of power relations brought about by colonialism, racism and heteronormativity.

While the rest of the lyrics narrate everyday experiences of struggle to adjust to life in the Netherlands, the use of the word *merdeka* constitutes an un-speakable affective presence of loss and shame; one that is mentioned, and deeply felt, but not narrated in detail.[14] As such, the un-speakability of Muller's lyrics are not only haunted by unresolved and repressed violence (see Gordon 2008), but also by multi-layered forms of violence wherein the distinction between 'victims' and 'perpetrators' is often ambiguous and difficult to discern. This section of the lyrics is still constitutive of the moral economy of caring, but the lyrics that follow endeavour to disrupt it by questioning the parents' behaviour.

In 'Belt of Emerald', parents' experiences of a new, cold climate and new food tastes is followed by a direct address to the parents:

But you did not tell your children,
Your hurt feelings, your quiet grief
That was too difficult,
You had your pride, your honour.
—'Belt of Emerald', Wouter Muller

In this, as in many other of his lyrics, Muller insists on showing respect and forgiveness, but also expressing the occasional painful grievance over Indisch parents' silence, as is the case in the lyrics of 'Daddy'. After decades of difficulty in coping with uncertainties about parental demands, Indisch children's despair and confusion brought by coercive pedagogies are affectively felt, but the shameful feelings of inadequacy and loyalty to the suffering parents prevents articulation of specific forms of injuries. Yet, while the parenting that Muller and his generation grew up with is not narrated in the songs, the contextualisation of parents as suffering subjects speaks to a commonly shared sense of knowing. This commonality allows Indisch people to share painful feelings with each other because they similarly believe, as several of my interlocutors mentioned, that 'we do not need to speak of everything'; 'our parents suffered enough, they do not need to be blamed by us'. Attendance at Muller's performances and consumption of his lyrics, therefore, create spaces in which descendants can share painful feelings without having to engage in direct, personal narrations of their own painful emotions.

As feminists of colour have shown, structural racism generates various forms of violence within families, becoming 'one of those secret places of pain' (Lorde 1984, p. 18; see also Ahmed 2017). In a similar way, the ongoing production of un-speakability becomes a necessary form of care for individual and collective bodies affected by intergenerational exposure to structural violence. It also clearly shows the ongoing presence of structural inequalities, urging us to see the ghostly presence of coercion and shame as modalities of the structural violence continuum.

Conclusion

Wouter Muller describes his cultural production as '*Indisch, maar dan anders*' (Indisch, but otherwise). In doing this, he indicates his determination to engage with the 'typical Indisch silence' (*typische Indisch zwijgen*) through the production of genealogy work that engages the speakable *tempo doeloe* tropes, while also making affective spaces of care for the most painful secrets in Indisch personal and collective selves. A detailed analysis of Muller's lyrical opus and related ethnographies demonstrates that the acute presence of shame necessitates an ongoing production of un-speakability as a form of care for the individual as well as the collective. Attention to this un-speakability reveals that figures of violent masculinity and victimised femininity reside within speakable heteronormative ideas of binary gender order wherein women are perceived to be weak and in the need of protection, while men are endowed with dominant qualities and expected to be protectors. Unlike in the normative, gendered and racialised memory framework of violent men and victimised women, the care work for the intergenerational effects of violence that Muller and memory workers who enjoy his music engage in is far more complex, urging us to see both the effects of violence and care for them beyond the gender binaries and between victims and perpetrators. Thus, I

have argued in this chapter that Muller and those who consume his music engage in work of care for the un-speakable – an emotional labour intended to alleviate intergenerational suffering brought about racialised, gendered and heteronormative structures of power embedded in the colonial empire and post-colonial nation states.

The intergenerational violence discussed here emanates from gendered and racial inequalities embedded in the very structures of empires and nation states. This chapter demonstrates that violence emanating from a matrix of structural inequalities cannot be analysed as an isolated instance of 'family violence' or 'racial violence', nor should it be relegated solely to individual psychopathology. Equally, the forms of care undertaken to alleviate the effects of intergenerational violence cannot be strictly demarcated along binary lines of speech versus silence, or healthy versus traumatised individuals. Narratives about the effects of violence are rarely linear and readily available. Instead, as is seen in Indisch memory work, they are often haunted by the ghostly figures of coercion, shame and ongoing exclusion from full citizenship in the post-colonial state.

Muller's music and performances provide affective spaces of care for the individual and collective selves through the mobilisation of the moral economy of care, which demands loyal respect for suffering parents, but also challenges it. My interlocutors' many comments that Muller's lyrics speak to their family's most deeply felt and difficult emotions clearly shows that an acute sense of shameful doubt about a sense of belonging for interracial subjects demands that we need to see them through the lens of the structural violence continuum. It is the ongoing force of structural inequalities that allows for certain engagements with the past to be speakable (*tempo doeloe*), while others remain unspeakable. Indisch genealogy work is haunted by the ghostly presence of coercion and shame, and while their affective presence necessitates the ongoing work of care, the continuation of structural violence – through gendered, racialised, and heteronormative demands imposed on interracial subjects in the post-colonial state – remains omnipresent. The fact that certain forms of violence can be spoken about while the others need to remain as family secrets is not just a personal issue, but a question of the post-colonial state which is becoming more xenophobic, with ever-increasing demands for cultural assimilation, making sharp divisions between those who are considered to be well or not well integrated (Buruma 2006; Dragojlovic and Broom 2017, pp. 61–86).

Notes

1 https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/05/27/mijn-vaders-wanhoop-achtervolgt-mij-levenslang-1621387-a645436.
2 I use the term 'Indisch' as the term preferred by my interlocutors living in the Netherlands.
3 For a detailed discussion about psychopathologisation of interraciality in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Haritaworn (2012).
4 For psychopathology of trauma, see Danieli (2010).
5 See Clarke and Thomas (2006) for a consideration of the African-American context.

6 '*Indisch, Maar dan Anders*' is the title of the collection of Muller's lyrics (2006).
7 https://www.woutermuller.com/orang-belanda-blues/.
8 Royal Netherlands East Indies Army.
9 http://www.woutermuller.com/daddy/.
10 The South-Moluccans came to the Netherlands as temporary citizens on the premise that the Dutch government would help them to gain their own independent state, *Republik Maluku Selatan* (RMS). After 25 years of waiting, living in temporary camps, some of the Moluccans decided to take radical action of hijacking a train in order to draw attention to their case.
11 http://www.woutermuller.com/de-twijfel-2/.
12 See Kaplan, Alarcon and Moallem (1999) for a detail discussion on gendering of nationalism in various parts of the world.
13 https://www.woutermuller.com/schakels-van-smaragd-2/
14 Katharine McGregor (2007) has argued that *merdeka* was the catch cry used during the struggle for independence. This cry was also by veterans to celebrate what for them was constructed as a heroic victory.

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8 The politics of care

A case study of domestic violence in Aceh[1]

Balawyn Jones

In 2004, domestic violence was criminalised by the Indonesian Anti-Domestic Violence Law (*Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga*). This law was a major achievement for the Indonesian women's rights activists who tirelessly advocated for its enactment. However, since the law's introduction, limited research has been conducted into how it has been socialised and implemented in communities across Indonesia. Taking Aceh as a case study, this chapter examines the complexities of community understandings of the law regarding what is recognised and redressed as domestic violence. Further, this chapter interrogates notions of 'victimhood' – in particular, who is recognised as a victim and why, based on local cultural and religious gender norms.

In order to understand the differences between local and legal conceptualisations of domestic violence, we must first consider the framing of violence in the 2004 law. Domestic violence is defined in Article 1(1) as 'any act against anyone, particularly women, bringing about physical, sexual, psychological misery or suffering, and/or negligence of the household […] within the scope of the household'. The scope of the household is extrapolated in Article 2 (1) as including: the husband, wife, children, people who have a family relationship, and the individuals working and living in the household. In the vast majority of domestic violence cases – approximately eighty-five per cent of cases in Aceh between 2013 and 2016 – the perpetrator was the husband and the victim was the wife (Jaringan Pemantau Aceh 2014, p. 24; Jaringan Pemantau Aceh 2016, pp. 36–37). As most victims are female and most perpetrators are male, domestic violence is classified as a form of gendered violence. Responses to domestic violence are therefore affected by gender norms.

The law also recognises various forms of domestic violence. 'Violence' is defined in Articles 5 to 9 of the Anti-Domestic Violence Law as including: physical violence – an act bringing about pain, sickness or serious injury; psychological violence – an act bringing about fear, loss of self-confidence, or psychological suffering; sexual violence – forced sexual intercourse; and negligence of the household – failure to provide livelihood, treatment or care, or bringing about economic dependence by limiting or prohibiting an individual from working properly. Although the law recognises several types of domestic violence, not all types of violence have received equal recognition or socialisation

at the community level. As will be explained below, domestic violence which is physical in nature generally receives wider recognition than other types of violence.

Despite the existence of this progressive law, in practice, very few cases of domestic violence are reported to the state via legal pathways.[2] The majority of cases are resolved via non-legal pathways, particularly informal dispute resolution or *adat* (customary) justice at the village level (P2TP2A 2017, p. 17).[3] As the majority of domestic violence cases are handled at the village level, this chapter focuses on *adat* avenues of care. In the village context, domestic violence matters are generally reported to the wife of the village head, wife of the *imam* (religious leader), wife of a village elder or a female elder – who, in turn, may refer the case on to their husbands, or up the (male) village chain of command. Disputes at the village level are resolved based on local wisdom or community understandings, which are not necessarily consistent with the Anti-Domestic Violence Law. Given this context, this analysis focuses less on technical processes and legal definitions and more on broader 'community understandings' which inform the recognition of victims and responses to domestic violence. Regardless of formal procedures and law, in practice, when women identify themselves as victims of domestic violence, either by informally seeking help or formally reporting the violence, they are subject to a political process of victimhood recognition and, relatedly, eligibility for care.

This chapter analyses community understandings of domestic violence at the village level.[4] First, it considers how 'violence' and 'victimhood' are culturally defined and how gender norms affect the process of victimhood recognition. The definition of violence is analysed in three parts: violence ignored, violence minimised, and violence justified. Further, a victim of domestic violence is only likely to be recognised as such and receive care if she is perceived to conform with locally specific cultural-religious gender norms. If a woman is perceived to have transgressed these norms, violence will likely be justified or excused. The recognition of victimhood directly informs the provision of care: if violence is not recognised (ignored, minimised, or justified), then victimhood is not recognised and the victim will not receive care. Second, the chapter reflects on how women exercise agency in the face of victimisation. The analysis concludes that the traditional victim/agent binary in much feminist literature proves insufficient in the context of domestic violence in Aceh, where women act as agents in response to victimisation.

Methodological approach and the socio-historical context of Aceh

In approaching local understandings of domestic violence and gender in Aceh, grounded theory methodology (GTM) is particularly suitable. GTM is a qualitative, constructivist methodology which uses inductive and abductive reasoning to develop theory from data and seeks to avoid essentialism by 'view[ing] knowledge as located in time, space and situation' (Charmaz 2011, p. 365). This chapter applies GTM with feminist theoretical underpinnings,

consisting of ground-up empirical work to develop context-specific theory based on lived experiences and local understandings.

This analysis is based on original fieldwork examining lived experiences and local understandings of domestic violence and gender conducted by the author in Banda Aceh between 2017 and 2018.[5] Twenty-five semi-structured interviews were conducted with community and justice system stakeholders including: village, *adat* and religious leaders, and staff at women's NGOs and the Integrated Service Centre for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (P2TP2A). A range of village stakeholders were interviewed to explore how local communities understand and respond to domestic violence. Interview data was coded according to GTM followed by theory integration.[6] The strength of applying GTM is that pre-existing theory is not forced on to the reality of Acehnese women, and instead, a theory is developed which is specific to and appropriate for the Acehnese context. Further, GTM aims to accurately understand the relevant 'historical, social, and interactional conditions' (Charmaz and Bryant 2008, p. 376). This approach is particularly important in the socio-religious context of Aceh. Ninety-eight per cent of Acehnese people identify as Muslim; to be Acehnese and Muslim is therefore synonymous (Wahyuningroem 2005, p. 95). Like most Indonesians, Acehnese Muslims belong to the Shafi'ite school of Sunni Islam, but follow *Ulama Dayah* as opposed to the two largest Indonesian Muslim organisations: *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah*.

Aceh's history has also shaped the cultural, legal and religious context which exists today. The Acehnese fought a thirty-year war against Indonesian imperialism, which ended after a tsunami struck Aceh in December 2004. Under the subsequent Helsinki Peace Agreement (2005), Aceh's special regional autonomy status was consolidated and expanded, which strengthened and clarified the legal infrastructure for the government to legislate Islamic legal norms through regional regulations known as *Qanun*.[7] Surveys in Aceh show that while the majority of Acehnese support the implementation of *Qanun*, many are also critical of its current implementation (*Yayasan Insan Cita Madani* polling cited by Johnson 2007, pp. 5, 23).

Although religion continues to be the central basis of Acehnese identity, *adat*,[8] politics, class, geography, ethnicity and race intersect to construct contemporary gender norms. There is no single 'correct' interpretation of cultural-religious norms related to gender in Aceh. There are, however, dominant hegemonic norms in Acehnese society. While hegemonic community understandings of gender exist, such interpretations are not homogenous (i.e. norms are subject to contestations within communities) and differ across time and space (Nashriyah and Syahabuddin 2015, p. 17).[9] The precise content of gender norms therefore depends on the community in question at the time of research. This is why a context-specific qualitative methodology has been applied in this research. The analysis of cultural-religious norms in this chapter is based on interpretations gathered through fieldwork in Aceh. It should be noted that the data is, to an extent, influenced by each individual respondent's

upbringing and background, in particular individuals' experiences of violence and gender and their positioning within broader structures of power.

The law stops at the door – violence ignored

In Aceh, as in most of Indonesia, violence within the domestic sphere is largely regarded as a 'private matter' (Afrianty 2018, p. 29; Komnas Perempuan 2017, p. 44). Even in the face of explicit legal recognition that violence against spouses is a criminal offence, community understandings of violence and gender inhibit the recognition of violence in the domestic context (Eddyono et al. 2016, p. 36; Irianto and Cahyadi 2008, pp. 12–14). This is because the domestic realm is implicitly and explicitly under the authority of the male head of the household. Gender roles within the family are entrenched in Article 31 (3) of the Indonesian Marriage Law, which legally recognises husbands as the head of the household (Aisyah and Parker 2014, pp. 205, 210–211).

Understandings of the household as a 'private sphere' under the control of the male head of the household stem from entrenched patriarchal culture (Jaringan Pemantau Aceh 2016, p. 17).[10] The classification of the domestic sphere as 'private', identified in broader Indonesian literature, is supported by fieldwork results in the context of Aceh. For example, a female Commissioner at *Komnas Perempuan* (National Commission on Violence against Women) stated in an interview that 'Domestic violence [is] considered the private business of the family, this culture is thick/very strong. Domestic violence being seen as a private issue is not only [an issue] in Aceh but in many places in Indonesia'.

Further, Ibu I (a female NGO worker), quoting an encounter with a man in the village, stated: 'This is my business. This is my wife. [If] I want to hit [her], I want to give food, I don't want to give food, that is my business.'

Domestic violence as a 'private issue' also relates intricately to socially constructed gender roles and the concepts of *kodrat* (God-given or essential nature). Common interpretations of Islam conceptualise men and women as inherently different by nature (Blackwood 2005, pp. 849, 866). For the Acehnese, and indeed Indonesians in general, Islamic notions of innate God-given gender are prevalent (Eidhamar 2018, p. 244). This is illustrated by the Marriage Law above, which distinguishes between husbands and wives based on their *kodrat*, with 'men as primary income-earners and women as child-rearers and housewives' (Blackburn 2004, p. 11; Oey-Gardiner 2002, p. 102; Wieringa 2015, pp. 28–31).

In the Acehnese context, respondent Ibu I (a female NGO worker), quoting an encounter with a domestic violence victim, said: 'He is my leader in the house, in my religion. I may not disrespect my husband. I may not go against my husband […] If I am hit [by my husband] this is surely my *kodrat*'.

Kodrat can be understood, in the quote above, as 'nature' or 'fate'. This fatalistic attitude can be contrasted against the explanation of *kodrat* by Ibu D (a female NGO worker) who explained that patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an:

> give rise to the idea that the position of women must be secondary [to men]. So the woman's nature is only to serve men […] All this time people think that women's *kodrat* is to cook – that's not the *kodrat* it's the [gender] role and the role is interchangeable.

Further, respondent Ibu K (a female academic) explained that the only difference between men and women is their biological nature. Ibu D and Ibu K distinguish between *kodrat* as biological sex (*jenis kelamin*) and gender norms (*jender*) as a construct. Their understanding is consistent with the arguments of other feminists that *kodrat* refers only to the 'actual physical differences between women and men […] and not to the social construct that is built on top of them' (Wieringa 2006, p. 7; and see Nurmila 2011, p. 55). However, when combined with patriarchal practices and policies (such as State Ibuism under Suharto's New Order), in practice, the notion of *kodrat* is used to exclude and restrict women (Blackwood, 2005, p. 869; Suryakusuma 1988, pp. 8–10, 98). Although there is an academic distinction between *kodrat* and gender roles maintained by some feminists, it is common for community members to conflate the two. An example of this thinking given by a respondent, Ibu I (a female NGO worker), is that 'Cleaning the house and doing household tasks is the *kodrat* of women […] not the gender role but the *kodrat*, women *must* do these things (as it is their nature)'.

Further, a respondent from *Komnas Perempuan* pointed towards the use of patriarchal religious interpretations to limit women's space and role inside and outside of the home. For example, the *jam malam* (curfew) imposed on women in Banda Aceh under *Instruksi Walikota* 2/2015 and the enforcement of restrictive dress policies (namely, women must wear hijab) under *Qanun* 11/2002. As identified by Ibu R (a female academic), the majority of politicians and policy makers are men who 'view women as embodying moral standards'. Protectionist rationales can be seen as patriarchal pushback or political *domestifikasi* (domestication) of women post-conflict and after the tsunami in Aceh (Ibu K, a female academic; Ibu S, a female NGO worker). The post-conflict period has also seen an increase in patriarchal interpretations amongst religious figures, including *tengku, imam* and the *Ulama Dayah* (Nashriyah and Syahabuddin 2015, p. 14). In Aceh, religious leaders hold strong socio-political influence over the interpretation of Islam and 'tend to promote patriarchal views' (Nashriyah and Syahabuddin 2015, p. 24).

Reflecting the positioning of men as dominant in both public and private domains, respondents consistently indicated in interviews that because of its domestic nature, domestic violence is seen as a 'private issue' and only the 'business' of the male head of the household (Nursiti, Sari and Fitri n.d., pp. 1–2). The implicit authority over women by the male head of the household becomes clearer when compared to other circumstances where the happenings of a household are seen as the 'business' of everyone in the community. These include vigilante attacks where local villagers forcibly enter 'private' households in cases of homosexual or *pacaran* (dating) relations (Lamb 2018; Walden 2018).

It is against this background that victims of domestic violence are stigmatised and silenced for seeking help outside of the family sphere. One of the primary barriers which deters victims of domestic violence from seeking help or reporting is stigmatisation from their own communities (Ibu R, a female NGO worker and P2TP2A staff member). However, the stigma is not necessarily for being abused – it is for speaking out about being abused or, in other words, for challenging the authority of the male head of the household. The fieldwork findings show that the stigmatising and silencing of victims stems from the patriarchal positioning of men as the head of the household culturally and religiously, and the imbuing of the concept of *kodrat* with restrictive gender norms.[11]

It is on this basis that violence is ignored or silenced by village leaders if victims speak out against their husbands about abuse. Village leaders and *adat* justice stakeholders are generally the first point of contact for victims of domestic violence seeking help. When violence is explicitly or implicitly silenced based on community understandings of domestic violence as a 'private issue', this threatens to undermine the operation of the Anti-Domestic Violence Law by acting as a barrier to access to justice and preventing the provision of care.

'*Tidak berdarah-darah*' – violence minimised

As mentioned above, the Anti-Domestic Violence Law recognises physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence. In practice, however, community understandings of violence as non-physical are very limited. As a result, the corresponding reporting rates for psychological, sexual and economic violence are low, since reporting of domestic violence is based on community understanding (Bapak S, a male lawyer; Ibu R, a female NGO worker and P2TP2A staff member). If domestic violence is recognised at all at the community level – that is, if it is not ignored as a 'private issue' between husband and wife – then generally only severe physical violence is understood as 'violence' by community members, despite a much broader legal definition.

The over-emphasis on physical violence is reflected in the way that community members conceptualise physical violence as *berat* (heavy), *besar* (big) or *parah* (severe) as opposed to non-physical violence as *kecil* (small), *tidak serius* (not serious) or *tidak berdarah-darah* (not drawing blood) (Ibu S, a female P2TP2A staff member; Ibu R, a female NGO worker and P2TP2A staff member).[12] This distinction reflects a limited understanding of the dynamics of domestic violence as other than physical (or even visual) violence. Consequently, many community members do not understand psychological, sexual and economic violence as constituting 'violence'. In addition to community understandings that emphasise 'serious' physical violence and that therefore minimise the seriousness of other forms of violence, physical violence is normalised. Respondent Ibu R (a female NGO worker and P2TP2A staff member) stated that 'domestic violence is assumed to be normal'. In the same sentence, Ibu R clarified that while domestic

violence is an ordinary occurrence, it is also *aib*, which in this context translates as ignominy, a public shame or disgrace that carries stigma. This is consistent with Nilan, Demartoto, Broom and Germov's (2014, p. 872) study of domestic violence in Indonesia, which found that most victims 'felt their experiences were just a "normal" part of married life'.

The next section discusses what happens if a woman comes forward with an allegation of domestic violence that is recognised by community leaders as sufficiently 'serious' to potentially warrant the provision of care. Whether the woman will be recognised as a victim usually depends on whether the use of violence is perceived to have been justified.

'Just not in the face' – violence justified

If domestic violence is not ignored, silenced, minimised or normalised, then it may still be subject to justificatory or excusatory rhetoric. Some respondents suggested that a degree of physical violence against women is allowed in local culture and interpretations of Islam. This notion was described by one respondent as 'within the borders of acceptable notions of fairness' (*di dalam batas kewajaran*) because the male head of the household has a responsibility to educate his wife and children (Bapak S, a male lawyer). This type of rhetoric links back to gender roles and constructs of masculinity, for example, the husband's role as *imam* (religious leader) of the family. If the male head of the household believes that his wife is not conforming with her *kodrat* or gender role, then he may use violence to 'teach her' and enforce compliance with these norms.[13] Respondent Ibu R (a female academic), for example, highlighted that if women complain about violence, men will often say that physical punishment is not violence, it is a teaching method. Physical violence is often justified as being 'disciplinary' or 'educative' and therefore, in some cases, not recognised by the community as violence at all (Nashriyah and Syahabuddin 2015, p. vi; Nilan, Demartoto, Broom and Germov 2014, p. 875). These kinds of beliefs minimise the seriousness of violence and emphasise the reciprocity of violence, essentially blaming the victim for provoking violence.

Such interpretations generally stem from *Surat An-Nisa,* verse 4:34 of the Qur'an. Verse 4:34 is debated within international, Indonesian and Acehnese Islamic communities and interpretations vary widely between *ulama* (religious leaders). What is striking about these various interpretations is their arbitrariness. Arbitrary lines are drawn by *ulama* between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' use of violence, usually in relation to local variations in constructed gender norms. The aim of this section is not to find the 'correct' meaning of verse 4:34. For the purposes of this analysis, Levi Eidhamar's (2018, p. 242 citing Roy 2004, p. 10) approach will be adopted, which states that the relevant 'question is not what the Quran actually says, but what Muslims say the Quran says'.[14] Verse 4:34 is the only verse in the Qur'an that 'specifically refers to wife-beating [and] explain[s] how authority is shared between spouses' (Eidhamar 2018, p. 242). Most Indonesian respondents in Eidhamar's (2018, p. 259) study of

Indonesian Muslim attitudes towards domestic violence 'directly or indirectly derived their norms on gender roles and wife-beating from interpretations of [verse] 4.34'. The relevant verse is often translated in Indonesia as follows:

> Men are the protectors and maintainers (*qawwamun*) of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient, and guard in (the husband's) absence what Allah would have them guard. As to those women on whose part you fear disloyalty and ill-conduct (*nushuz*), (first) admonish them (*fa'izuhunna*), (next) refuse to share their beds (*wahjuruhunna*), and last beat them (lightly) (*wadriduhunna*).[15]

The first word that has a significant impact on gender relations depending on its translation is *qawwamun. Qawwamun* is commonly translated as maintainers, protectors, guardians or leaders (Aisyah 2012, p. 54; Dunn and Kellison 2010, p. 15; Eidhamar 2018, p. 242). For example, the translation from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia is 'leaders'. The implications of the interpretation of *qawwamun* range from supporting the inherent supremacy of males over females to promoting conditional responsibility for husbands to provide financial maintenance to their wives. Some scholars assert that *qawwamun* is non-gender specific and 'women can also be called *qawwamun* […] if they have the skills and resources to lead in both the public and private spheres' (Aisyah 2012, pp. 54–58; Dunn and Kellison 2010, p. 17; Nurmila 2011, pp. 44, 55). However, in the Acehnese context, *qawwamun* is generally interpreted to mean that men are the leaders of women, and implicitly, that women are therefore men's subordinates (Ibu R, a female academic).

Second, the word *nushuz* is commonly translated as disobedience or rebellion against (male) authority, marital conflict or adultery (Aisyah 2012, pp. 53, 64; Dunn and Kellison 2010, p. 22; Ibrahim and Abdalla 2010, pp. 17–18; Nashriyah and Syahabuddin 2015, p. 177). The translation of *nushuz* is significant because it is, arguably, the condition on which violence may be used within a marriage. Some scholars argue that *nushuz* does not mean 'minor' annoyances but only 'serious' misbehaviour which would threaten the marriage (Dunn and Kellison 2010, p. 19; Ibrahim and Abdalla 2010, p. 18). In the Acehnese context, respondent Bapak S (a male lawyer) stated that it is not uncommon for domestic violence perpetrators to attempt to justify their violence, with reasons such as: '"My wife didn't fulfil her [household] obligations" or "my wife doesn't listen to me" [and so] "it wasn't really violence because I was just teaching her a lesson"'.

References in fieldwork data to a 'lack of obedience' (for example, wives not cooking, cleaning or caring for the children adequately) reflect the stretching of the concept of *nushuz* to cover minor annoyances, which align with the performance of locally specific gender roles or constructs of *kodrat* discussed above. This is consistent with Nilan, Demartoto, Broom and Germov's (2014,

p. 880) study of domestic violence provocations in Indonesia which included 'coming home late, being "weak", refusing to "serve" the husband, demanding more household income, working, neglecting household duties, being accused of having an affair, being angry over a husband's infidelity, and nagging'.

It is common for victim blaming to occur when women identify themselves as victims of domestic violence. In particular, community actors may seek to undermine a woman's claim of victimhood by making allegations that the woman did not conform to her *kodrat* and is therefore a 'bad woman' who deserved to be disciplined by her husband.[16] As explained by respondents from P2TP2A:

IBU S: Usually in our culture, if we report [domestic violence], it is always the woman who will be brought into issue – the woman is not good/she was cheating/didn't look after the house.

IBU R: It's the wife who is blamed because she has to take care of her family and husband. It is public opinion that it is the obligation of women to serve their husband and care for their children […] So sometimes there is the potential to be blamed, maybe because 'you don't play your role well enough'.

This is supported by Ibu K (a female academic), who stated '[If a domestic violence victim] runs to the head of the village, and the head of the village says "it is surely you who is in the wrong" [then] she is not brave to run somewhere else [to report]'.

Instead of supporting victims to receive care, community members often attempt to discredit victim claims along gendered lines. Such secondary victimisation can be seen as a reaction or backlash against a perceived threat to hegemonic gender norms.

An Acehnese religious leader (Bapak M) stated that if *nushuz* occurs, then disciplinary violence may only be used conditionally after a number of steps have been taken, including giving advice and sleeping in separate beds. These 'steps' identified by Bapak M correspond to translations of *fa'izuhunna* (advice or intensive discussions) and *wahjuruhunna* (refusing to talk, sleeping in separate beds, or abstinence). Most interpretations require these steps to be performed chronologically, and only to progress to the next step if the previous step fails to resolve the dispute. Physical discipline is therefore often positioned as a 'last resort' (Aisyah 2012, pp. 60, 67). However, it is clear in the Acehnese context that, even if violence is interpreted to be subject to limitation, religious concepts such as *nushuz* can be manipulated and used as a tool by men 'to legitimize their violence towards their wives and children' (Eidhamar 2018, p. 252).

A 'literal interpretation' of the third step, *wadribuhunna* or *daraba* (to beat, strike, hit, chastise or scourage) permits husbands to use limited physical punishment if their wife is *nushuz* (Aisyah 2012, p. 65). Common limitations on physical punishment include: not being severe or violent, not leaving any physical mark (not bruising, causing bleeding or breaking bones), not being

in the face; striking only once or using an instrument such as a toothbrush or handkerchief; or chastisement as purely symbolic (Aisyah 2012, p. 66; Dunn and Kellison 2010, pp. 17, 22; Eidhamar 2018, p. 244; Ibrahim and Abdalla 2010, pp. 20–21; Scott 2009, p. 62). Some scholars even argue that *daraba* should be interpreted as 'making a decision to initiate divorce', 'to go away', or 'boycott', rather than as physical chastisement (Aisyah 2012, pp. 68–69; Dunn and Kellison 2010, pp. 15, 21; Eidhamar 2018, p. 242; Ibrahim and Abdalla 2010, pp. 14, 21; Scott 2009, p. 63). However, dominant Acehnese and Indonesian translations 'understand the term *daraba* as indicating some kind of physical discipline of women/wives' (Eidhamar 2018, p. 243).

Acehnese religious leader, Bapak M, for example, explained that violence is restricted to 'blows which do not cause pain, let alone injuries' and only 'in parts [of the body] that do not cause disability and injury and […] not in a visible place, like the face and hands'. Another respondent, Ibu N (*Ibu Geuchik*/wife of the village head), stated that 'a husband can discipline his wife, but not in the face'. Ibu N distinguished this from a case of domestic violence, reported to her in her capacity as *Ibu Geuchik*, where the wife was seriously injured after being punched, kicked and slapped in the face and body. As with the concept of *nushuz*, it can be seen how ambiguity in interpretations of verse 4:34 ultimately allows perpetrators and community members to distort religious concepts to justify or excuse domestic violence.

There is also disagreement as to whether verse 4:34 is a command, recommendation, permission or restriction. Some reformist scholars argue that the verse can be interpreted as a 'virtual prohibition' against the use of violence (Dunn and Kellison 2010, p. 22; Ibrahim and Abdalla 2010, 18–19; Nurmila 2011, p. 44; Scott 2009, pp. 62, 65, 73 relying on the works of scholars such as Amina Wadud and Fatima Mernissi). Such scholars often support alternative translations using *hadith* accredited to the Prophet Muhammad, including: 'it is shameful if a husband chastises his wife' and 'the best of you are those who are best to their wives' (Aisyah 2012, p. 68; Dunn and Kellison 2010, p. 21; Ibrahim and Abdalla 2010, pp. 10, 19). For example, respondent Ibu R (a female NGO worker and P2TP2A staff member) stated that:

> We need to firstly remind people that the Islamic tradition and teaching are never about violence, and if we really grasp the essence of Islam, we should know that Islam does not promote violence. The community believe that it is fine to beat women when they do something wrong, this misunderstanding strengthens the justification to beat women as 'Islam allows this'. But we need to highlight that *our Prophet taught us how to treat our wives with kindness* (emphasis added).

Further, respondent Ibu D (a female NGO worker) explained that:

> [Although local] religious leaders teach us that denying our husbands is a sin and we will go to hell […] if you see the teachings of the Prophet

> Muhammad, the protection of women is extraordinary; contrary to the information we receive from religious leaders in the village (which are usually from the *Dayah*).

In Aceh and in Indonesia more broadly, interpretations of *Surat An-Nisa* range from uninhibited male entitlement to use violence to a blanket prohibition on the use of physical violence. While Muslim feminists and advocates for gender equality tend to prefer the 'virtual prohibition' strategy, the majority of religious leaders in Aceh interpret verse 4:34 to position males as leaders (and as superior to women) in both private and public realms and permit husbands to use limited forms of violence to discipline wives who are disobedient. In the context of domestic violence in Aceh, this means that when victims report to village leaders at the community level, many women experience secondary victimisation.

Implications for feminist theory

> When talking about Acehnese women, we cannot only talk about them as victims, they are survivors, they are leaders.
>
> – Commissioner, Komnas Perempuan

The case study of community understandings of domestic violence illustrates the non-binary nature of victimisation, with women as both victims and agents. As discussed above, in Aceh there is a widespread cultural-religious belief that women may, in some circumstances, be disciplined by their husbands. In this context, when women self-identify as victims of domestic violence, they act as agents as they implicitly challenge the status quo, including notions of acceptability of violence, women's place in the family, and the authority of males to use violence.

Feminist analyses which equate victimhood with passivity and weakness and agency with strength and courage (known as 'victim feminism')[17] fail to recognise that – in contexts such as Aceh – the act of identifying as a victim is itself an act of agency.[18] By naming the harm committed against them, women challenge the entitlement of men to use violence and, in doing so, they simultaneously transgress gender norms that expect women to be passive and submissive to men's authority. This chapter therefore argues that the victimisation/agency dichotomy is inapplicable to the development of feminist jurisprudence and practice in the context of Aceh.[19] In reality, women have a multiplicity of identities and can be both victims and agents (Schneider 1993, p. 395).

In much feminist scholarship, women are expected to leave an abusive relationship in order to be considered an 'agent', and are 'victims' if they stay (Connell 1997, p. 119). Although this chapter focuses on self-identification as a victim (help-seeking and reporting) as a form of agency, this example should not necessarily be positioned, akin to 'leaving', as the 'ultimate' expression of agency. Women seek help for many reasons, including awareness of their legal

rights, empowerment through their religion, or because of an innate sense of injustice. There are also many reasons why women choose not to identify as victims, such as community stigma, fear for their safety or a lack of tangible resources to support themselves and their children. Therefore, in some circumstances, it may also be an act of agency to choose not to identify as a victim. The element of choice is key and deprivation of the *choice* as to whether to self-identify is itself a form of victimisation that restricts women's agency.

This discussion highlights the false binary of victimisation and agency, which fails to recognise 'the systematic nature of women's subordination and women's active efforts to resist such subordination' (Schneider 1993, p. 394; and see Connell 1997, p. 122; Mahoney 1994, p. 64). Agency must be viewed within the frame of victimisation and vice versa, where a woman's choices may practically be constrained by oppressive structures. In the context of Aceh, a more relational (as opposed to individualistic) view of victimhood should be taken where the victim's claims are not only viewed in relation to the harm committed by the perpetrator, but also recognising the broader structural context, including both systems of oppression and systems of care. In the Acehnese context, challenging the victim/agent binary is important because of secondary victimisation based on patriarchal religious interpretations which justify and excuse violence against women. Claiming victim status is therefore a political process that requires the continuing exercise of agency in response to continuing circumstances of victimisation.

An inherent tension in claiming victim status is that in doing so, women transgress their gender role by challenging male authority, which often results in victim blaming stemming from a perceived failure to conform with a woman's *kodrat*. The thick culture of the home as a 'private sphere' and women as restricted by constructs of *kodrat* make acts of agency more obvious in the context of Aceh. Complaints of domestic violence against a husband inherently contravene implicit gender roles and norms that expect marital issues to remain private and not the business of anyone except the male head of the household. In this way, the politics of care is often less a response to the original harm committed by the husband and more reflective of broader gender norms and societal expectations.

The acknowledgement of Acehnese women as agents within the context of victimisation also counters existing understandings of women in the Global South as blanket 'victims' of culture.[20] Despite the significant contributions of second and third-wave feminists, racialised and imperialist feminisms still work to 'other' Muslim women and women of colour (Kapur 2002, p. 6; Stringer 2014, p. 7). Scholars have largely combatted the essentialisation of women, in particular women of colour and Muslim women, as victims by asserting that these women are actually agents (Hemmings and Treacher Kabesh 2013, p. 30). However, this kind of reasoning positions victimhood as 'negative, backward-looking' and agency as 'positive, forward-looking' upon a continuum with 'contemporary Western women's apparent graduation to self-determining agency' (Stringer 2014, pp. 4–5). Instead of challenging the

dichotomy of victim/agent, many existing analyses implicitly adopt this binary. Therefore, racialised and imperialist discourses of victimhood are not overcome but rather are cloaked through the use of 'agency'.

This is relevant to Aceh, as in 2005 – when the province was 'opened up' to the international community post-tsunami and post-conflict – the Western lens with which aid was provided tended to stereotype Acehnese women as '"oppressed Muslim women" in need of saving by outsiders' (Jauhola 2016, p. 348). In the Acehnese context, not all women are victims of domestic violence and, of those who are, not all women choose to identify as victims. However, for those that do, identification as a victim can be seen as a rejection of the legitimacy of patriarchal practices and attempted engagement with systems of care. In seeking acknowledgement of the harm committed against them, women self-identifying as victims call out domestic violence as a wrong and call on community and state actors to hold perpetrators accountable. Without recognition of victims in law and in practice, impunity for perpetrators of domestic violence persists and women do not receive access to the care that they need.

Conclusion

In Aceh, domestic violence is generally understood by community stakeholders as a 'private' issue, physical in nature and a normal part of married life which can be justified as disciplinary if women are perceived not to have fulfilled their *kodrat*. If a victim seeks help from community leaders, she may be ignored, stigmatised or blamed. The fieldwork data illustrates how responses to domestic violence at the community level are heavily influenced by local cultural and religious understandings of gender and power, especially with respect to patriarchal interpretations of verse 4:34 of the Qur'an. The local construction of victimhood in the Acehnese context separates so-called 'good' women who comply with their *kodrat* from 'bad' women, with only the former likely to be recognised as victims. The latter, who allegedly fail to conform to their *kodrat* in some way, are likely to be blamed as provocateurs of the harm committed against them, and subjected to secondary victimisation. In this way, the limited construction of victimhood in the Aceh obstructs the provision of care.

Importantly, in the Acehnese context, the act of self-identifying as a victim is also an act of agency. Claiming victimhood challenges the acceptability of domestic violence, societal expectations of women as passive and submissive, and the entitlement of men to use violence. Victims of domestic violence in Aceh are both victims and agents, exercising agency in the face of victimisation and acting as agents in negotiating the political process of victimhood recognition. The ways in which Acehnese women claim, or do not claim, victim status demonstrates the complex and subtle ways in which women traverse the terrain of patriarchal cultural and religious interpretations and community stigma. For many victims, the pursuit of care represents the beginning of a cycle of victimisation which requires women to persistently exercise agency in navigating the patriarchal politics of care.

Interviews

1 Interview with a Commissioner (Komnas Perempuan), Jakarta, 12 January 2018.
2 Interview with Ibu D (a female NGO worker), Banda Aceh, 22 January 2018.
3 Interview with Ibu I (a female NGO worker), Banda Aceh, 19 December 2017.
4 Interview with Ibu K (a female academic), Banda Aceh, 15 December 2017; Banda Aceh, 17 January 2018.
5 Interview with Bapak M (a religious leader), Banda Aceh, 23 January 2018.
6 Interview with Ibu N (Ibu Geuchik/wife of the village head), Banda Aceh, 15 December 2017.
7 Interview with Ibu R (a female NGO worker and P2TP2A staff member), Banda Aceh, 19 December 2017.
8 Interview with Ibu R (a female academic), Banda Aceh, 27 December 2017.
9 Interview with Ibu S (a female P2TP2A staff member), Banda Aceh, 21 December 2017.
10 Interview with Ibu S (a female NGO worker), Banda Aceh, 17 January 2018.
11 Interview with Bapak S (a male lawyer), Banda Aceh, 15 December 2017.

Notes

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2 CEDAW (2012, [25]) identified underreporting of domestic violence incidents as an issue of concern for Indonesia.
3 *Adat* justice systems are non-legal avenues for dispute resolution which exist at the community level. *Adat* can be defined in Indonesia as 'a generic term to indicate an often undifferentiated whole constituted by the morality, customs, and legal institutions of ethnic or territorial groups' (Von Benda-Beckmann and Von Benda-Beckmann 2011, p. 168).
4 For a more complete account of women's perspectives and victims' experiences, see Jones (forthcoming).
5 Fieldwork was conducted with the approval of The University of Melbourne Human Research Ethics Committee; Ethics ID: 1749977.2.
6 Line-by-line, *in vivo*, focused and advanced coding (see Birks and Mills 2015; Urquhart 2013).
7 Through the enactment of Law 11/2006, which followed Law 44/1999 and Law 18/2001.
8 The Acehnese proverb '*Adat ngon hukom lagee zat ngon sipheut*' means that the relationship between *adat* and Islam is like a substance and its nature (Nashriyah and Syahabuddin 2015, p. 22).

9 Note the contestability and changing-nature of 'wisdom', that is, the variability in cultural or traditional approaches (Merry 2001, p. 38; Graydon 2016, p. 9; Wieringa 2015, p. 41).
10 Interview with Ibu I (a female NGO worker): 'Patriarchy glorifies men so when women experience domestic violence from their husbands, they are silent because men are in a higher position'.
11 Further, according to Eddyono et al. (2016, p. 36), in Indonesia *keluarga sakinah* or the 'idea of the family harmony validates any man's actions as right and obliges women to not expose their husbands' mistakes to the public'.
12 *Tidak berdarah-darah* is an expression which assesses seriousness; it does not translate directly to mean 'if there is bleeding or not'. The meaning is closer to 'if it is serious', but 'seriousness' in this context has an implied element of physicality to it.
13 Fieldwork findings are consistent with broader research conducted in Indonesia by Nilan, Demartoto, Broom and Germov (2014, p. 876): 'If I were to beat my wife, I would have the right because I was teaching her how to behave properly' and Eidhamar (2018, p. 249): 'According to Islam, the husband is responsible for raising and educating his wife. If she disobeys his commandments, he is obliged to beat her'.
14 Many respondents were careful to clarify that they were not criticising or blaming Islam *per se*, but patriarchal interpretations of Islam.
15 This translation is based on the Indonesian *Al-Qur'an Tiga Bahasa* (Rifhan 2009).
16 According to Stringer: 'Prevailing definitions of victims, victimhood and victimization shape social, cultural, scholarly and legal responses to victims, and can do so in ways that are profoundly harmful and inequitable, thus constituting "secondary" victimization' (2014, pp. 12–13).
17 Critiques of victim feminism are well-established in contemporary feminist literature. See, for example, Stringer (2014, Chapter 1).
18 Gudrun Dahl (2009, p. 399) argues: 'To ask for victim status is not necessarily an abdication from agency, but can itself be a form of rewarding agency'.
19 According to Stringer (2014, p. 2), 'talk of victimhood primarily assumes the form of negative critique of the notion of "victim" […] and is generally unseated by "agency" as a trope of legitimacy'.
20 According to Choudhury (2009): 'References to third-world women, women of the global South and women in the East should be read not geographically but politically and economically' (p. 154).

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9 Gendered violence, gendered care

Nonintervention, silence work and the politics of HIV in Aceh

Annemarie Samuels

In early 2010, twenty-one-year-old Jamilah was diagnosed with AIDS in Banda Aceh's main public hospital.[1] She was severely ill from opportunistic infections caused by HIV, which she had contracted from her late husband. In 2004 they had hastily married, pressured by the extreme violence of the separatist conflict that terrorised Aceh at the time. Years after the conflict ended, and years after her husband's death, the virus that had been multiplying in her body caused intense suffering until, and beyond, Jamilah's remarkable recovery.

Jamilah's story is one of the two narratives that I recount in detail later in this chapter, and that signal the structural but silent entanglements of a range of forms of gendered violence and vulnerability in Aceh, Indonesia's northwesternmost province. Scholars have amply demonstrated the relations between gender-based violence and HIV infection (see, for example, Desai 2005; Epele 2002). An increasing number of anthropologists, moreover, argue that intimate gendered violence, including domestic violence, should be understood in relation to what Paul Farmer (2004) has termed 'structural violence,' referring to the historically entrenched social inequalities that shape suffering (Adelman 2004; Merry 2009; Parson 2013; Wies and Haldane 2011). Although they redirect attention to the political economy that enables violence in intimate settings, these scholars do so without overwriting individual experiences. Instead, individual experiences provide insight into the diverse forms of structural violence that sustain the conditions in which intimate violence occurs (Parson 2013, pp. 19–20).

Following the lead of these studies, in this chapter I draw on the stories of two Acehnese women to trace histories of gendered violence. These narratives are drawn from an ethnographic research project on HIV/AIDS care that I conducted for thirteen months in 2013 and 2014. The HIV-positive women I came to know during this period often began telling their life stories by narrating experiences of illness and diagnosis. These were experiences of violence *within* the body: the slow and silent attack of the virus that they were often infected by years ago, not uncommonly under conditions of civil conflict violence, domestic violence and poverty. Many of these stories were told retrospectively. At the same time, however, their narrators were always in the

middle of the story, reflecting on their past, while imagining their future under particularly straining conditions. For many, a pressing issue was the risk of public disclosure that came with accessing the health care they needed.

Situating these present concerns within longer-term stories, I delineate various forms of violence in women's lives that lead to, or exacerbate the consequences of, HIV infection. In particular, I draw attention to the ways in which the gendered inequalities at the root of such violence are compounded by unequal access to health care. Although public health care offers vital forms of medical care to people in Aceh, HIV care is complicated by what Joao Biehl (2007, p. 348) has called a 'politics of nonintervention'; a lack of political will to increase access to medical care for one of Aceh's most stigmatised and invisible populations. This lack of access and a near absence of efforts to combat stigma affects all people with HIV or AIDS, but especially women and LGBT people, who are more vulnerable to processes of exclusion in this social setting of heteronormativity and patriarchal gender relations.

Definitions of gendered violence are numerous, and indeed, as Veena Das (2008) argues, it may be the definitional instability of the concept that shows us what is at stake. I will therefore use the term broadly and heuristically, as a lead to both specific instances of violence (such as domestic violence) and the structural gendered inequalities that impact women's suffering. If gendered violence is inherently part of the modern state that creates its subjects in roles of reproduction (women) and sacrifice for the nation (men) (Das 2008, pp. 284–285), the stories in this chapter point to historical continuations of violence and gendered inequalities through civil conflict, domestic violence and state bureaucracies. Yet, individual lives always overflow the socio-historical conditions of their making.

In order to tease out how individuals move within violent histories, structural gender inequalities and limited healthcare systems, I propose to listen carefully to silences. Silence, as scholars of gendered violence have noted, is one crucial response to conditions of violence (Das 2007; Gammeltoft 2016; Ross 2001). Rather than merely signalling the repression of trauma, embodied memory may be carried in silence while people move on with life (Kidron 2009). As Veena Das (2007) shows, women may digest 'poisonous knowledge' in order to start healing and remaking their worlds. Absent from straightforward narratives and congealed from the public eye, much of the caring that individuals and families do to stitch together worlds falling apart takes place in silence (Das 2007; Han 2012). Silence not only characterises both gendered violence and responses to this violence; it also connects them, as people carefully navigate the said and the unsaid when they recover life in the face of structural and intimate forces that oppose them.

The core of this chapter, then, discusses the entanglement of two forms of silence. The first of these involve the absence of state intervention; an absence that shapes health care access in gendered ways, aggravating the socio-historical conditions through which gendered violence persists. The second form of silence is the work of HIV-positive women and, sometimes, their families to

make life liveable under the threat of serious illness and social death. Before exploring these issues through the analysis of two stories of HIV-positive women, Jamilah and Putri, the following three sections provide the necessary background to situate these stories. This background is provided through a brief overview of the history, transforming gender relations, and development of HIV care in Aceh.

Aceh: a brief history

Aceh is known within and beyond Indonesia for, amongst other reasons, its turbulent history of resistance against the Dutch colonisers and later against the Indonesian republic; the piety of its predominantly Islamic population; and the devastating tsunami that hit its shores on 26 December 2004. Before the Dutch invaded this part of the archipelago, one of the last to be colonised, Aceh had been an independent sultanate for centuries, with a 'golden age' in the seventeenth century, when the pepper trade flourished and the region became known as a centre of Islam.

When in 1873 the Dutch went ashore in Aceh, they mistakenly presumed that they would incorporate the area into the colony of the Netherlands East Indies with relative ease. Instead, they met with fierce resistance in what turned out to become one of the bloodiest colonial wars in Dutch history. The Aceh War lasted forty years and took the lives of at least 100,000 people – most of whom were Acehnese. After the Second World War, Aceh joined the Indonesian republic and the Dutch never recolonised the area. Violence erupted after the war in the so-called Social Revolution against the landowning elite (*uleebalang*), led by religious leaders (*ulama*). In the 1950s, prominent *ulama* led the Darul Islam rebellion with the aim of turning Indonesia into an Islamic state. In order to end the rebellion, in 1956 Aceh gained a special autonomy status within the Republic of Indonesia.

In the 1970s, large amounts of liquified natural gas were found in North Aceh. Appropriation of its revenues by Indonesia's central government spurred the outbreak of a new insurgence in 1976. This time, the rebel movement, which later became the Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*, GAM), fought for Aceh to become independent from Indonesia. While limited in scope at first, the conflict between the GAM and the Indonesian military intensified in the late 1980s and 1990s, during which Aceh became a Military Operation Zone (*Daerah Operasi Militer*, DOM). Extreme violence, including killings, torture, rape, disappearances, and a range of other forms of terror continued into the early years of the new millennium (see Reid 2006; Smith 2015). A peace agreement was only reached in 2005, eight months after the Indian Ocean tsunami destroyed the Acehnese coasts, killing 170,000 people. In the post-tsunami and post-conflict era, Aceh saw an influx of aid workers and reconstruction programmes, the transformation of GAM into a powerful political party (*Partai Aceh*), and the intensification of the implementation of Shari'a, Islamic law.

The implementation of Islamic law started in 2001, following a new special autonomy status that the province acquired in 1999. After the 2004 tsunami, the influential rhetoric of 'building back better' represented not only processes of physical reconstruction but also the desire for religious improvement and stricter adherence to Shari'a (Feener 2013). Although Acehnese Muslims practice their faith not only in relation to, but also beyond the state's enforcement of Islamic law (Feener et al. 2016; Kloos 2018), the new regulations have had a severe impact on minority and vulnerable groups (see, for example, Idria 2015; Jauhola and Bolong 2017). Headscarves and non-revealing clothing have become part of the mandatory dress code for women, which is checked upon by the so-called Shari'a police (*Wilayatul Hisbah*, WH) during raids at major traffic hubs in urban areas.

Under Islamic law, gambling, drinking alcohol, and premarital or extramarital sexual activities (*khalwat* and *zina*) have become subject to punishment by caning. Recently, homosexual acts have been included in the criminal code, leading to severe corporal punishment and the humiliating treatment of LGBT people. As in other parts of Indonesia, the moral panic about sexuality and the upsurge of anti-LGBT sentiments has restricted queer 'safe spaces' (Thajib 2018) and negatively affects HIV outreach and prevention activities (Human Rights Watch 2018).

Gender relations

Developments in the second half of the twentieth century have significantly influenced contemporary gender relations in Indonesia. During the Revolution, the struggle for independence from 1945–49, women carried the double burden of family care and nationalist fighting (Steedly 2013). During the New Order (1966–98), the state built a gender ideology based on the image of the heterosexual nuclear family, in which the strong and benevolent father was the breadwinner and his submissive wife the mother and moral guardian of the household (Robinson 2009). Moreover, the violence against women during the 1965–68 massacres that put the New Order regime in place, underpinned the regime's continuing control of politicised women (Dirgantoro and Hatley, Chapter 5 this volume; Wieringa 2003). Since 1998, the country has been pulled in opposing directions: the influence of conservative Islamic politics leading to public policing of sexuality has increased, while there has also been a proliferation of women's and LGBT rights movements (Davies and Bennett 2015). Meanwhile, domestic violence has remained pervasive throughout the archipelago (Aisyah and Parker 2014; Bennett et al. 2011).

With the implementation of Shari'a, Aceh may be seen as a prime example of a more conservative Islamic influence leading to the policing of women's sexuality in the public and private sphere. It is important to note, however, that gender roles in Acehnese society have historically been complex. As James Siegel (2000) observed in the 1960s, in his ethnographic research in rural Aceh, women inherited and owned houses and thereby acquired a significant degree

of authority and responsibility in the household. To this day, the Acehnese remain proud of famous female anti-colonial resistance fighters and pre-colonial female rulers (see Khan 2013; Siapno 2002). Ideals of women's courage have returned in the pride of the group of women combatants (*inong bale*) during the most recent separatist conflict (see Smith 2018). As Smith (2018) shows, women often narrate the experience of intense suffering during the conflict through tropes of intergenerational strength and bravery.

Like post-New Order Indonesia, post-tsunami Aceh saw at once the increasing policing of sexuality (Samuels 2016), and the increasing public role of women, both in women's organisations (Afrianty 2015) and in female religious leadership (Kloos 2016; Lopes Cardozo and Srimulyani 2018). During this period, women's social and physical mobility has increased. If at the turn of the new millennium Jacqueline Aquino Siapno (2002, p. 108) noted that 'with urbanization […] women have become restricted to the domestic sphere,' it is now common for women to travel significant distances to school, work, ritual festivities, medical appointments and, for the growing middle class in Banda Aceh, leisure. Nevertheless, social control over women's mobility remains strong, especially in rural areas, where unaccompanied travelling is quickly noticed by neighbours and may become subject to gossip. Moreover, in situations of economic precariousness, it is often the women who do not have the means to travel beyond their immediate surroundings (see Samuels 2012). Indeed, as we will see, the gendered social control over mobility significantly impacts women's possibilities for accessing HIV care.

HIV/AIDS and health care

The first case of HIV in Aceh was diagnosed in 2004, long after the first case in Indonesia in 1987. Aceh has a low prevalence of HIV but the number of diagnoses keeps rising; there had been a total of 272 infections diagnosed at the end of my field research in July 2014, increasing to 632 at the end of 2017.[2] For people living with HIV in the province, medical care has mostly been available in the provincial hospital in Banda Aceh and, to a lesser extent, a few hospitals along the northeast coast. Those who live in southern and western districts, as well as in the highlands, have to travel long distances to access health care. The social and economic burden of travelling, as well as the risk of rousing neighbours' suspicions prevent many from visiting medical specialists as often as recommended, if at all.

Health care and medications for people living with HIV are freely available in the provincial hospital for those with identity cards (KTP) and the correct referral letter. Obtaining such a letter (which usually expires after one month) from the local health clinic without disclosing one's HIV-positive status requires a sound dose of negotiation skills, social capital, patience and luck. For those without identity cards, predominantly transgender women (*waria*) but also women whose husbands as head of the family for some reason (such as time or money) refuse to create the mandatory family card, obtaining access to

health care is even more complicated. In these instances, access may depend on the generosity of a village head who can write a so-called 'letter of poverty' that can be used to guarantee health insurance. As in other parts of Indonesia, while steps toward universal health coverage are promising, significant barriers in quality, availability and access to health care still need to be addressed (see Nanwani and Siagian 2017; Pisani et al. 2017).[3]

The bureaucratic savviness and geographical mobility required in accessing care are complicated by the immense stigma surrounding HIV and AIDS in Aceh. Most people living with HIV in Aceh aim to prevent public disclosure of their seropositive status at all costs. In cases of involuntary disclosure, patients have been subject to severe discrimination, including banishment from villages, deprivation of livelihoods, denial of access to school, and abandonment by their own families (see Samuels 2016, 2018). The main reasons for such discrimination are that many people in Aceh consider HIV a sign of moral misconduct, and that many are afraid the virus may be transmitted by touch. Since 2006, a small support group has been active in Banda Aceh to support and accompany people living with HIV in accessing health care and information. It is with this group, which at the time of my fieldwork had four regular staff members, that I conducted the largest part of my ethnographic research.

Most of the time, I observed the support group workers and patients in the hospital and the support group office, where I obtained observations of their care trajectories, interactions with medical staff, social and medical struggles, and negotiations about optimal care. I conducted in-depth interviews with over thirty people living with HIV in Aceh and had follow-up conversations with many of them over time during their visits to Banda Aceh or through mobile phone and social media networks. Additionally, I interviewed stakeholders in the hospital, and in local government and non-governmental organisations in the field on HIV/AIDS. The following sections highlight the life stories of two women. Their stories are unique, singular, and yet they also exemplify complex but highly significant configurations of gendered violence, structural nonintervention, silence and care. The first is the story of Jamilah, who lived in a rural area about six hours by car from Banda Aceh. While I met her several times in Banda Aceh, most of the story comes from an in-depth interview that we had in a secluded space in the hospital in her own district in December 2013.

Story 1: Jamilah

Jamilah grew up at the height of separatist conflict that severely affected her village. Her father died when she was six years old and her mother soon remarried. Fortunately, her stepfather was very supportive of her and her siblings. When Jamilah was fifteen years old, the conflict became extremely violent. She told me: 'We lived very close to the army quarters. My mother was scared. Many people were raped then.' I asked if that happened often,

and she responded: 'Very often. Even, I don't know, every day we heard that someone had been raped. The mother would be tied down, the child would be raped, the father would be murdered.'[4]

At that time, the rich employer of Jamilah's stepfather was looking for a wife for his son, who liked Jamilah. In our conversation, Jamilah added apologetically that she 'looked older than fifteen.' Her family agreed to the match, primarily, she implied, to protect her from the violence. Yet a week before the wedding, her fiancée was caught by the army. They tortured him for one month, asking his family for 100 million rupiah bail (about 7,000 US dollars). After a month, his family managed to negotiate to 25 million and upon payment, he was released. His imprisonment, Jamilah said, was a bad omen, but marriage had already been promised and thus they married immediately. There had not been a wedding reception – which in Aceh means a huge sign of disrespect to the bride and which at the time of our interview still made Jamilah sad and angry. Her family had asked for a reception, but his family declined. After the wedding, he had to flee to the highlands and she went with him into exile. He never spoke about the month in prison. She asked him whether he was part of GAM, the Free Aceh Movement, but he kept denying it, even though she heard from others that indeed he was assisting GAM.

In exile, Jamilah got pregnant and she went back to their village right before giving birth. Not long thereafter, on 15 August 2005, the peace agreement was signed. Her husband could then return as well and for two years, they lived a relatively quiet life in a house that was built by his family. In January 2008, he fell ill, upon which his family took him to see a range of traditional healers. Finally, they brought him to what Jamilah called an a 'paranormal person' (*orang paranormal*). She emphasised that his family were 'villagers' (*orang kampung*), implying their adherence to traditional medicine instead of imagined modern/urban biomedicine. The paranormal person accused Jamilah's family of using black magic on her husband (*mengguna-gunakan*). She was still furious when she told me about this almost six years later. None of the other healers had mentioned her family. Besides, what family would want their daughter's husband to be ill? Yet, his family believed what the paranormal person had told them and they started mistreating Jamilah. In the last stages of his illness, her husband was rushed to the hospital, where he died in August 2008. His disease was never diagnosed, but people whispered that he had died of brain cancer.

After her husband's death, Jamilah's in-laws expelled her from the house and took all of her belongings. She fiercely held on to her daughter. A poor widow with a child, she could only return to her own family, becoming an extra burden on a struggling household. Hardship continued when in 2010, Jamilah herself started to feel sick with fever. At the local health clinic, she was told she had typhoid, but the medicine they gave her did not work. Eventually, she was taken to the district hospital, where her mother had to take care of her day and night. After a month without progress, and with the Islamic holiday of *Idul Fitri* coming up, her mother took her home. Yet after

the holiday, an attentive doctor called her family and said she wanted to refer Jamilah to Banda Aceh. It is quite rare for a doctor to make such a call to someone who has already been discharged. But she did, and they went while Jamilah was extremely ill and barely conscious. In Banda Aceh, she tested positive for HIV. She stayed in the hospital for a month and slightly recovered with the help of appropriate medication, although she fell ill again when she arrived home. Total recovery would take a long time.

Upon her hospitalisation, Jamilah's family learned about the diagnosis and fortunately her mother, stepfather and brothers were immediately supportive. Soon, however, villagers also started to spread rumours that she had HIV and it was clear that they would not so readily accept an HIV-positive person in their midst. To help Jamilah, her brother smartly produced a false document that stated that she had tested negative for HIV. This ended some of the rumours, although Jamilah said that people were still suspicious (*curiga*), especially because she had to travel to the city every month for a medical check-up and medication. In the village, such regular travel without a clearly stated purpose was considered to be suspicious behaviour for a young widow.

In our interview, Jamilah told me how she smartly countered her neighbours' questions. She said, for example: 'Yesterday there was someone who asked me: Jamilah, I heard you had HIV.' She had innocently replied: 'Who said so?' 'O, there was someone…,' the neighbour answered, 'but perhaps they made a mistake, Jamilah, perhaps your blood got confused with someone else's.' Laughing, Jamilah recounted how she had very seriously answered: 'O yes, that is quite possible.' She told me how she often pretended not to know anything about HIV, feigning naivety. She smiled when recounting the success of her tactics, yet the stakes were high. When I asked what would happen if her neighbours would find out the truth, she answered: 'I would be gone (*habislah*), I could never live there anymore.' Pretending not to be infected required tiresome embodied work. At times when she felt really ill, she said, if there would be a festivity in the village, she would still put on a headscarf and go: smiling, acting as if she was fine. People commented on how healthy she looked, how beautiful she was now. Even in the support group, she was praised for her beauty, named as a success story of diligent adherence to antiretroviral therapy.

Jamilah thought of her own predicament as fate (*takdir*), something she had to accept. She told me her husband had probably had a lot of sexual intercourse (she used the word *jajan*) when he was living in Pekanbaru years before their marriage. Yet again, she told me this with a smile, emphasising also that the years of their living together in the village had been the best part of her life. Since she had recovered, she really wanted to get a job to supplement the family income and provide for the growing needs of her daughter, but her stepfather did not want to hear of it.

Jamilah's story tells of civil war violence that spurred the hasty marriage of a middle-school girl. It is a story of patriarchal and class relations, in which a young woman finds herself unable to counter her in-law's black magic accusations, reflecting the powerlessness Indonesian women may experience in relation

to their in-laws. It is the story of a violent virus that kills her husband and leaves her on the verge of death. Suspicions about her illness make her position in the village precarious. Availability of health care does not guarantee access, or quality. Jamilah's monthly travel raises questions that would not be raised for a man. Jamilah walks a tightrope when she navigates a social life with HIV. She carefully decides whom she tells what: her family, support group staff, doctors, me, neighbours – and, as she discussed with me on another occasion a few months later, what to tell a potential future husband? Her careful embodied work of performing health, beauty and ignorance enables her to keep the invisible virus a secret; her everyday work with silence makes life liveable.

Jamilah's narrative also sheds light on the blurring of boundaries of violence and care, as people struggle to make decisions amid mounting anxiety, thus pointing at the often invisible ways in which families care to avoid stigma and violence (see Das 2007). For example, she narrates her wedding at age fifteen as at least partly an act of care by her family members, who hoped that marriage would offer protection from the extreme violence perpetrated against women in her village. Her husband's silence about the torture and his role in the conflict may have been a form of protection too, and her stepfather's refusal to let her work could be read similarly – yet from Jamilah's perspective both acts also involved a form of exclusion. Jamilah and her stepfather dispute and negotiate the parameters of 'good' care (see Samuels 2019), but they do so within gendered relations of inequality, in which Jamilah's space for manoeuvre depends on her stepfather's decision. The consequences of such gendered inequalities in decision-making capacity become sadly clear in Jamilah's rich in-law's insistence on the use of traditional, rather than biomedical, healing. They also become clear, I suggest, in the more structural but less visible ways in which a health system is systematically 'undercaring' (Feldman 2017). The absence of HIV care in rural areas and an almost total lack of awareness raising or anti-stigma and prevention activities ultimately affect HIV-positive women even more severely than men, because of limited mobility, tight social control, economic dependence, and the social precariousness of widowhood. Consequently, awareness raising among the villagers, socio-economic assistance for HIV-positive people, and nearby, accessible HIV care facilities, could have positive and emancipatory consequences, especially for women. Yet currently, in the absence of a political will to extend these efforts, non-intervention can only be navigated by individual strategies of silence and invisible acts of care.

The next section further examines the entanglement of these two forms of silence, the political silence in the face of suffering and the individual strategies of silence in response. These are two forms of silence that, respectively, exacerbate and modify the consequences of gendered violence. I draw on the story of Putri, a young mother from another village, a few hours away from Jamilah's.

Story 2: Putri

> In the VCT [Voluntary Counseling and Testing unit] today, I met Putri, about whom support group staff said that until recently she was forced to sleep in a

> cowshed. She came for new drugs, because her body showed signs of resistance against her current line of anti-retroviral medication. Her hemoglobin is decreasing drastically. In her presence, the support group staff mentions that she has been severely abused by her late husband; they say her leg has been broken and she still has headaches resulting from his abuse. Everyone, including Putri herself, laughs a bit, in a way I have now noticed several times when discussions turn to difficult subjects. The support group program manager interjects with a monologue on the prevalence of domestic violence in Aceh.[5]
>
> (Field notes, September 2013)

Putri came from a poor rural family of eight. When she was eighteen years old, she started working as a domestic help in an Acehnese city. At age twenty-two, living in a city ten hours away from her parents, she married a man from Padang against their wishes. Although she did not tell me about the context of the marriage, it was most likely unregistered.[6] She gave birth a year later. Only two weeks after the baby was born, her mother came to fetch her and took her and the child home. Four months later, in early 2008, she married again, but her second husband soon started to neglect her. He often did not come home at night, and saw other women. While she was pregnant, he rarely gave her money and she often had to go home to her parents to ask for food. He started to physically abuse her. The violence became worse over the years, until three years after their wedding Putri reported him to the police. He begged for forgiveness and she accepted his pleas, after which the case was closed.

Yet the abuse did not stop. On top of physical violence, he subjected her to severe humiliation by bringing his girlfriend home and telling her that Putri was the domestic help. In 2011, their oldest child died at age three. Putri said that he had been a healthy baby, but that he had started falling ill often from the age of six months onwards. He had shown signs of malnutrition. That same year, her husband fell ill. Together with the second child from their marriage and her daughter from her previous marriage, Putri stayed with her husband during his two years of illness, earning money by washing clothes for neighbours. In the end she brought him to the hospital, but he allowed only his mother to take care of him and told her to go home to her parents. But when she went home, her mother-in-law scolded her for leaving a sick husband alone.

Not long before his death in 2013, Putri started to feel unwell herself. At the local health clinic, the doctor strongly advised her to go to Banda Aceh and check for HIV. He even gave her money for transportation. She said he had been aware of the seropositive status of her husband, but he had not been allowed to disclose this to her. In the capital, she found out she was infected:

> When I found out about this illness, I felt like I wanted to die, didn't want to live anymore … I send him a text message, saying: 'You have been ill for so long, why didn't you tell me?' His answer was: 'I was infected in Jakarta, while I worked in a bar.'

He had known about his infection for a long time, but had not informed her. She told me she did not know the exact reason why he was in Jakarta in the first place, but she did know he had been taken there by the military as a school boy during the time of DOM, the military operation zone, and he had lived in a military house.

When her family found out about her illness, they did not at first accept her at all. They were afraid and wanted her to move out. Her older brother yelled that if it was not for her mother still being there, he would throw her out immediately. She lived in a former cowshed for three months until the village head found another temporary shelter for her on communal land. The family members who knew about her HIV-positive status became more accepting over time, but her situation remained dire.

Putri's husband died in July 2013. When I visited her together with the support group staff in December, three months after I had first met her in the hospital, she told us how sad she was that despite everything, she had not been allowed to care for him during his last months and therefore she had not been able to fulfil her marital tasks. Instead, she had gone through the lengthy procedure of issuing a divorce, which was granted two months before his death, and before she knew about the HIV infection. It was during our visit that evening in December 2013, with rain pouring on the roof of her tiny shelter, that she first told us the exact details of his abuse. One of the support group staff members later said that until then, she had probably felt she could not tell anyone because of the religious taboo around telling others about a family's or a husband's faults (*membuka aib*).

At the time of our visit, Putri was suffering side effects of the antiretroviral medication that she had recently begun taking. Some days she had to throw up, and then her daughter would ask whether she was going to die. Yet even if she felt bad, she prepared lunches at home, which she then sold on the street. She said she would just get up and go again, for her children. She had sold lunches previously in a nearby school yard, but when the teachers found out she was HIV-positive, they had chased her away. Now, she had to cycle to another village. She claimed that only some people in her village, including her family, the village head and the teachers, knew about the illness, but she also noticed that she was rarely invited to festivities anymore. While the support group had informed the provincial education department about the discrimination in the school yard, they had not yet stepped in to intervene and prevent this from happening again.

Toward the end of our conversation, we discussed the possibility of founding a small branch of the support group in Putri's district. She said she was eager to join and speak up for their cause. Yet, to do so, she would first need a place and income of her own. Living on the village's property, and thereby being dependent on the goodwill of the village head, compromised her ability to speak. 'Let people say whatever they want,' she said, 'I am just silent.' On the way home, support staff praised Putri's agency, her will to speak up if circumstances would permit. She persisted in her marriage, enduring immense

hardship in order, in her own words, 'not to sin.' Yet, in the end, she also persisted in the divorce, going through the lengthy and emotionally demanding bureaucratic procedure. She kept working in order to provide a livelihood for herself and her children. She kept envisioning a future for her children, and her silent enduring was both forced on her by circumstance and a way to keep going.

Gendered violence in Putri's life story is layered, through the civil conflict that took her second husband to Jakarta in his teens, the poverty that forced her to become a domestic help far away from her family, and domestic violence that neighbours in Aceh generally consider to be something they are not allowed to interfere with. Putri faced the cruelty of her husband with fortitude and silence, both from a sense of religious obligation and from a lack of choice. Like Jamilah, she had an unsupportive family in law, but a shameful return as divorcee to her own impoverished family was also problematic. Yet ultimately, she did opt for an official divorce and returned to her natal family. She was furious about the (at least conscious if not deliberate) HIV infection, inflicted on her as a form of physical violence with long-lasting consequences.

Putri's story underscores how gendered violence goes beyond the intersubjective relationship, extending to societal norms of gender relations, as well as social and political structures of nonintervention, here enforced by family members, neighbours, police and government agencies. Putri officially received neither economic assistance nor assistance for her medical expenses, including those of travelling to the capital. If she did come to Banda Aceh, that was only because a local doctor, health care official or the support group paid for her transportation costs out of their own pocket. Her accommodation depended on the personal discretion of the village head. Despite the support group's pleas to the contrary, the education department had not reprimanded the school for their discriminatory practices. Putri's story, then, underscores why we need to analyse the structural violence in which intimate gendered violence is often embedded (see Adelman 2004). In the case of HIV, I emphasise, this analysis should include the absence of interventions that *could have been* taken, and the ways in which they are implicated in an individual's necessity of being, as Putri put it, 'just silent.'

Acts of care seemed to happen against the odds, with the local doctor sending Putri to the capital, neighbours bringing some food for her children, her mother dropping by to help out, or a support group staff member giving a pep talk. Writing about neighbourhood social networks among the urban poor in neoliberal Chile, Clara Han (2012) notes how neighbourly care may happen in silence to respect the dignity of the person in need. While similar small acts of care without comment flow among family members and neighbours in Aceh, the social stigma of HIV severely compromised women's ability to tap into such networks – as it does in other places around the world (see, for example, Van Hollen 2013). Mostly, caregiving was an extremely demanding and gendered task done by Putri herself, for her children and her own recovery, through silence, endurance and perseverance.

Conclusion

As identity-based exclusion keeps surmounting in post-Reformasi Indonesia – epitomised in the public spectacle of the 'othering' of minorities through labels that acquire a forceful life of their own, such as 'LGBT,' 'drug user,' 'deviant sects (*aliran sesat*),' and 'PKI' – attending to the discursive frameworks of exclusion remains tremendously important. Whereas these kinds of exclusion are particularly pronounced, in this chapter I have gestured to more silent forms of exclusion happening within systems of governance and care – including health care – in which an absence of care disproportionately affects women (as well as LGBT people). An emphasis on the universal coverage and availability of health care, here, tends to mask the class-based and gendered inequalities of access to health care, especially where travelling long distances is required. People living with HIV, moreover, find themselves in a double bind, as speaking up to gain political visibility and ensuing care is almost certain to compromise their efforts to carefully retain social invisibility (Boellstorff 2009; Samuels 2016). For women like Jamilah and Putri, silent exclusion through a largely invisible politics of nonintervention exacerbates suffering rooted in experiences of conflict, poverty, and domestic violence. Like the (hi)stories related in other chapters in this volume, then, their experiences underscore the importance of assessing gendered violence across time and space.

Yet, as Veena Das (2008, p. 293) has argued, 'research on gender and violence is not only about how worlds are unmade by violence but also how they are remade.' Listening to the different qualities of silence in women's stories may give a glimpse of both the experience of violence and women's responses to such suffering (Ross 2001). Speech may be strained by fear of disclosure or the cultural and religious taboo on spilling a family's secrets. Such 'deliberate' silence (Gammeltoft 2016) may do crucial work in the remaking of the everyday life of people affected by violence, and may be a vital part of maintaining social worlds. Importantly, despite the lengthy stories Jamilah and Putri told, they likely retained some deliberate silences in our interactions; and beyond these deliberate silences was perhaps the unspeakable, covered in experiences of suffering and loss that resisted articulation. Yet, in the work of not speaking—in Jamilah's family's collusion over non-disclosure and Putri's pronounced silence to persevere – we may also find acts of care; efforts to repair life-worlds in the face of forces that threaten to pull it apart.

Turning our attention to the multiple shapes of silences, then, may help to reveal structural inequalities without reducing individual lives and particular instances of violence to them. The stories of Jamilah and Putri show how singular experiences of domestic violence and exclusion at the hands of husbands, parents, in-laws or siblings, are enmeshed with conflict violence, the HIV virus, and poverty. Silences, here, point to violence and individual responses to violence, and their intertwining settles into women's efforts to access care.

Notes

1 For reasons of confidentiality, in this chapter I use pseudonyms for the personal names of my interlocutors.
2 *Jawa Pos,* 6 March 2018, 'Jumlah Kasus HIV/AIDS di Aceh Terus Meningkat.' https://www.jawapos.com/kesehatan/06/03/2018/jumlah-kasus-hivaids-di-aceh-terus-meningkat.
3 Since January 2014, Indonesia's public health insurance systems have been bundled in one agency, namely the healthcare division of BPJS (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial* – Social Security Administrating Agency), and expanded in order to provide health coverage for all Indonesians by 2019.
4 Studies of Aceh's civil conflict note that while people do narrate generalised or second-hand stories of rape, there were relatively few directly reported accounts of women's own experience (Grayman et al. 2009, p. 297; Smith 2018, p. 20).
5 In 2017, 704 cases of violence against women and children were reported in Aceh. Due to under-reporting, this is likely only the tip of the iceberg. *Serambi News,* 27 December 2017 'Sepanjang 2017, Tercatat 704 Kasus Kekerasaan terhadap Perempuan dan Anak di Aceh, Amrina: Kejam!' [Throughout 2017, 704 Cases of Violence against Women and Children Have Been Reported in Aceh, Amrina: Cruel!] http://aceh.tribunnews.com/2017/12/28/sepanjang-2017-tercatat-704-kasus-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-dan-anak-di-aceh-amrina-kejam. Women's activists have connected the rise of domestic violence in Aceh to legacies of the conflict as well as the implementation of Sharia, see Natahadibrata (2013). On the underreporting of domestic violence in Indonesia, see Afrianty (2018).
6 On such forms of unregistered or secret marriage in Aceh, see Vignato (2012).

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Afterword: Gender, violence, power

The pervasiveness of heteropatriarchal moral orders in Indonesia across time and space

Ana Dragojlovic

> Response-ability is that cultivation through which we render each other capable, that cultivation of the capacity to respond. Response-ability is not something you have toward some kind of demand made on you by the world or by an ethical system or by a political commitment. Response-ability is not something that you just respond to, as if it's there already. Rather, it's the cultivation of the capacity of response in the context of living and dying in worlds for which one is for, with others … I think of response-ability as irreducibly collective and to-be-made. In some really deep ways, that which is not yet, but may yet be. It is a kind of luring, desiring, making-with. …. It figures response-ability as becoming-with … it's rooted in taking chances with one another, not in prohibition.
>
> (Haraway 2015, p. 231)

Violence is one of those notions that we often take for granted as self-explanatory, but at the close of this book, I want to ask, what is violence? What is commonly understood to constitute violence? Is it something unacceptable, unexpectable and sanctioned? More importantly, what kinds of violence have been normalised? What are the social, economic and political conditions under which specific actions, conducted by individuals as well as medical and governmental institutions, are recognised as violence and both socially sanctioned and legally prosecuted? Such questions might seem reductive but, as we hope to have shown in this book, that is only if we ignore the power dynamics that are implicit in and created by the structural inequalities embedded in heteropatriarchal regimes of impunity. Furthermore, following the work of feminist scholar Donna Haraway, I want to invite readers to think with and about our individual and collective 'response-ability' as scholars working on violence, and what might we do to cultivate 'the capacity to respond' to multiple forms of violence.

We might begin such a process with a broader definition of the contexts within which gendered violence occurs. The concept of heteropatriarchy is derived from two terms—heterosexuality and patriarchy—and delineates a system of power relations under which heterosexuality and patriarchy are perceived as natural and normal, and all other figurations as abnormal. Following from these perceptions, heteropatriarchal systems of power normalise the many

ways in which the marginalisation and exclusion of those who do not abide by hetero-norms might occur. This marginalisation and exclusion can take many forms, from the marginalisation of women and LGBTIQ* people and the normalisation of physiological and physical violation of bodies, to a lack of accessibility to employment and medical help and a scarcity of economic provisions, as well as imprisonment, torture and public shaming. These everyday forms of heteropatriarchal segregation of women and LGBTIQ* people become even more pronounced and pertinent during armed conflicts, which can again take many forms: from colonial oppression and state occupation to liberation movements and their challenges (Dragojlovic 2011, 2018 and Chapter 7 this volume; Protschky 2018 and Chapter 3 this volume). Ultimately, heteropatriarchal structures of inequality are embedded in gendered moral orders, being those social and cultural expectations of gendered propriety that inform the cultivation of moral personhood (see Laidlaw 2017).

The effects of violence brought about by the multilayered inequalities inherent in colonialism, racism and heteronormative structures come in many guises, and urge us to take a multifaceted approach in our analysis. This volume comes from the authors' shared conviction that a robust analysis of the vexed relationship between gender, violence and power in the Indonesian archipelago, and in Indonesia-related diasporas around the world, necessitates an engagement with the broader structures of inequality within which the varied forms of violence take place. The ways in which individuals experience and deal with the effects of violence also need to be understood within larger socio-political, economic and historical trajectories.

This collection is based on a broader interdisciplinary project entitled 'Gender and Violence'[1] that is grounded on the premise that the effects of gendered violence have not only been neglected (Protschky this volume), but are also multilayered and exercised as 'cycles of impunity' (Komnas Perempuan 2002, 2009), and exist on a 'structural violence continuum' (Dragojlovic, Chapter 7 this volume). As such, they require an interdisciplinary approach that is capacious enough to demonstrate that what is commonly seen as domestic, state, military, political or legal violence is in fact all related, and indeed embedded in the larger structures of heteropatriarchy and its moral orders. This interdisciplinary volume engages with the work of an emerging generation of Indonesian feminists (including Dirgantoro, Winarnita and Setiawan; see Chapters 6 and 7 this volume) and building on the work of Indonesian scholars and activists (Idrus 2016; Sulistyowati 2016; Grijns, Horii, Irianto and Saptandari 2018; Subono 2000), as well as firmly staying away from the pitfalls of anthropological relativism that goes so far as to question even the possibility of the existence of sexual violence in specific parts of Indonesia (Helliwell 2000). Instead, this volume, composed of methodologically divergent chapters, writes *against* and *away* from the *in-visibility* and normalisation of violence.

To different degrees and from specific vantage points, the chapters in this volume investigate how the structures of heteropatriarchy inform what is seen as acceptable, normalised, and desirable. Situated around four themes—textual

narratives of gendered violence, visualisation of violence, commemorations of violence, and contestations about care—the individual chapters explore the following: how heteropatriarchal structures informed gender relations and the narration and documentation of gendered violence in the early twentieth century and during the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies (Beech Jones, Chapter 1, McGregor, Chapter 2); visual traces of the manifestations of gendered and racialised violence during the Indonesian National Revolution (Protschky, Chapter 3); soldiers' macabre photographic documentation of female bodies they have tortured (Loney and Pohlman, Chapter 4); theatre performances involving survivors of the 1965 violence and the intergenerational transmission of trauma (Dirgantoro and Hatley, Chapter 5); the memorialisation across a diaspora community of the gendered and racialised violence of May 1998 (Winarnita and Setiawan, Chapter 6); the intergenerational shame that produces un-speakability about violence, coercion and marginalisation within the Dutch Indisch community (Dragojlovic, Chapter 7); religious, cultural and legal contestations on what constitutes domestic violence in Aceh (Balawyn Jones, Chapter 8); and an investigation into how structures of violence limit the possibilities for care of HIV patients in Aceh (Samuels, Chapter 9).

Rather than taking for granted what constitutes violence, the chapters in this volume ponder over the *un*-knowing of violence. I use the prefix 'un' here to signify negation, limitations, ambivalence and possibilities of knowing, and at the same time acknowledge the possibilities of knowing and writing about impunity. The structural pervasiveness of heteropatriarchal moral orders makes manifold forms of violence seem both known and unknown, visible and invisible, urging us to think further about the moments, instances and situations in which violence becomes visible and named as violence. This pervasiveness also urges us to think about the economic, political and social conditions under which manifold forms of violence that reside within structural inequalities of heteropatriarchy can be named and recognised as violence, and then socially sanctioned and legally prosecuted.

During the conference upon which the chapters in this volume are based, we were prompted to reflect on the difficulties those working on gendered violence can face in negotiating how to write about and represent multiple forms of gendered violence. In particular, we debated two contentious points that speak about the ways in which violence becomes known and recognised as such. We also debated the ethics of writing about violence. The first point inspired a discussion about whether and to what extent women are victims within patriarchal and religious orders that impose moral obligations of piety on their followers, and what women's capacity for agency might be in these cultural contexts. The second point revolved around the responsibility of writing about and representing violence, and how this can avoid becoming what Daniel has termed a 'pornography of violence' (Daniel 1996, p. 3). More specifically, how can we as scholars analyse the complexities of gendered violence from multiple vantage points, while at the same time cultivating what we hope will be a response of

shared condemnation of such violence from readers of our work? We did not resolve these dilemmas during the workshop, nor have we done so in this book. I raise them here as topics that informed the making of this book, and as an invitation to readers to keep pondering, researching and writing on these topics, while thinking beyond the simplicity of rigid binaries between agency and lack of power, victim and perpetrator, and past and present, and always keeping in mind the pervasiveness of heteropatriarchal inequalities.

Writing about violence certainly entails what Haraway calls 'response-ability', and this volume invites further scholarly and activist discussion about our shared 'response-ability' for the future without normalising violence, which can come in many different forms and guises. In so doing, this volume urges further consideration of the possibilities and emotional demands for subjective becoming that make living possible and imaginable under the moral orders of the heteropatriarchy. What are the possibilities and limitations for being and living otherwise under a heteropatriarchal regime that morally shames and legally prosecutes human bodies and practices that diverge from the normative order (see Hegarty 2019; Ridwan and Wu 2018)? What are the possibilities for gender justice and for an agency that is not submerged within the moral order of patriarchy? What are the possibilities for the future if we consider the constraints of ever-increasing structural inequalities through economic, gendered and racialised lenses? While this volume engages with these questions in relation to the Indonesian state, Indonesia-related territories, as well as Indonesia-related diasporas, these questions and concerns are of international significance. This volume therefore invites further reconsideration of heteropatriarchal moral orders and structural inequalities that manifest themselves on a 'structural violence continuum' (Dragojlovic, Chapter 7), regardless of their geographical location. The volume also urges further critical thinking about the ongoing normalisation of structural inequalities.

Note

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Gender, Violence and Power in Indonesia

This book uses an interdisciplinary approach to chart how various forms of violence – domestic, military, legal and political – are not separate instances of violence, but rather embedded in structural inequalities brought about by colonialism, occupation and state violence. The book explores both case studies of individuals and of groups to examine experiences of violence within the context of gender and structures of power. It argues that gendered violence is particularly important to consider in this region because of its complex history of armed conflict and authoritarian rule, the diversity of people that have been affected by violence, as well as the complexity of the religious and cultural communities involved. The book focuses in particular on textual narratives of violence, visualisations of violence, commemorations of violence and the politics of care.

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